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OF THE

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Illinois State Historical Society

FOR THE YEAR 1917

Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Society, Springfield, Illinois, May 10-11, 1917

[Printed by authority of the State of Illinois.]

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OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

Honorary President.

HON. CLARK E. CARR.....Galesburg

President.

DR. OTTO L. SCHMIDT.....Chicago

First Vice President.

GEORGE A. LAWRENCE.....Galesburg

Second Vice President.

L. Y. SHERMAN.....Springfield

Third Vice President.

RICHARD YATES.....Springfield

Fourth Vice President.

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E. B. GREENE, University of Illinois.....Urbana-Champaign
MRS. JESSIE PALMER WEBER.....Springfield
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GEORGE W. SMITH, Southern Illinois State Normal University.....
..... Carbondale
WILLIAM A. MEESE.....Moline
RICHARD V. CARPENTER.....Belvidere
EDWARD C. PAGE, Northern Illinois State Normal School.....DeKalb
J. W. CLINTON.....Polo
ANDREW RUSSEL.....Jacksonville
WALTER COLYER.....Albion
JAMES A. JAMES, Northwestern University.....Evanston
H. W. CLENDENIN.....Springfield
COL. D. C. SMITH.....Normal
CLINTON L. CONKLING.....Springfield

Secretary and Treasurer.

MRS. JESSIE PALMER WEBER.....Springfield

Assistant Secretary.

MISS GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.....Springfield

Honorary Vice Presidents.

The Presidents of the Local Historical Societies.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

Following the practice of the Publication Committee in previous years, this volume includes, besides the official proceedings and the papers read at the last annual meeting, some other matter contributed during the year. It is hoped that these "contributions to State History" may, in larger measure as the years go on, deserve their title, and form an increasingly valuable part of the Society's transactions. The contributions are intended to include the following kinds of material:

1. Hitherto unpublished letters and other documentary material. This part of the volume should supplement the more formal and extensive publication of official records in the Illinois historical collections, which are published by the trustees of the State Historical Library.

2. Papers of a reminiscent character. These should be selected with great care, for memories and reminiscences are at their best an uncertain basis for historical knowledge.

3. Historical essays or brief monographs, based upon the sources and containing genuine contributions to knowledge. Such papers should be accompanied by foot-notes indicating with precision the authorities upon which the papers are based. The use of new and original material and the care with which the authorities are cited, will be one of the main factors in determining the selection of papers for publication.

4. Bibliographies.

5. Occasional reprints of books, pamphlets, or parts of books now out of print and not easily accessible.

Circular letters have been sent out from time to time urging the members of the Society to contribute such historial material, and appeals for it have been issued in the pages of the *Journal*. The committee desires to repeat and emphasize these requests.

It is the desire of the committee that this annual publication of the Society shall supplement, rather than parallel or rival, the distinctly official publications of the *State Historical Library*. In historical research, as in so many other fields, the best results are likely to be achieved through the cooperation of private initiative with public authority. It was to promote such cooperation and mutual undertaking that this Society was organized. Teachers of history, whether in schools or colleges, are especially urged to do their part in bringing to this publication the best results of local research and historical scholarship.

In conclusion it should be said that the views expressed in the various papers are those of their respective authors and not necessarily those of the committee. Nevertheless, the committee will be glad to receive such corrections of fact or such general criticism as may appear to be deserved.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE I—NAME AND OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. The name of the Society shall be the ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SEC. 2. The objects for which it is formed are to excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to encourage historical research and investigation and secure its promulgation; to collect and preserve all forms of data in any way bearing upon the history of Illinois and its peoples.

ARTICLE II—OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY—THEIR ELECTION AND DUTIES.

SECTION 1. The management of the affairs of the Society shall be vested in a board of fifteen directors, of which board the President of the Society shall be ex officio a member.

SEC. 2. There shall be a President and as many Vice Presidents, not less than three, as the Society may determine at the annual meetings. The board of directors, five of whom shall constitute a quorum, shall elect its own presiding officer, a Secretary and Treasurer, and shall have power to appoint from time to time such officers, agents and committees as they may deem advisable, and to remove the same at pleasure.

SEC. 3. The directors shall be elected at the annual meetings and the mode of election shall be by ballot, unless by a vote of a majority of members present and entitled to vote, some other method may be adopted.

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the board of directors diligently to promote the objects for which this Society has been formed and to this end they shall have power:

(1) To search out and preserve in permanent form for the use of the people of the State of Illinois, facts and data in the history of the State and of each county thereof, including the pre-historic periods and the history of the aboriginal inhabitants, together with biographies of distinguished persons who have rendered services to the people of the State.

(2) To accumulate and preserve for like use, books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents bearing upon the foregoing topics.

(3) To publish from time to time for like uses its own transactions as well as such facts and documents bearing upon its objects as it may secure.

(4) To accumulate for like use such articles of historic interest as may bear upon the history of persons and places within the State.

(5) To receive by gift, grant, devise, bequest or purchase, books, prints, paintings, manuscripts, libraries, museums, moneys and other property, real or personal, in aid of the above objects.

(6) They shall have general charge and control under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, of all property so received and hold the same for the uses aforesaid in accordance with an act of the Legislature approved May 16, 1903, entitled, "An Act to add a new section to an act entitled, 'An Act to establish the Illinois State Historical Library and to provide for its care and maintenance, and to make appropriations therefor,'" approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889; they shall make and approve all contracts, audit all accounts and order their payment, and in general see to the carrying out of the orders of the Society. They may adopt by-laws not inconsistent with this Constitution for the management of the affairs of the Society; they shall fix the times and places for their meetings; keep a record of their proceedings, and make report to the Society at its annual meeting.

SEC. 5. Vacancies in the board of directors may be filled by election by the remaining members, the persons so elected to continue in office until the next annual meeting.

SEC. 6. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and in case of his absence or inability to act, one of the Vice Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in case neither President nor Vice President shall be in attendance, the Society may choose a President *pro tempore.*

SEC. 7. The officers shall perform the duties usually devolving upon such offices, and such others as may from time to time be prescribed by the Society or the board of directors. The Treasurer shall keep a strict account of all receipts and expenditures and pay out money from the treasury only as directed by the board of directors; he shall submit an annual report of the finances of the Society and such other matters as may be committed to his custody to the board of directors within such time prior to the annual meeting as they shall direct, and after auditing the same the said board shall submit said report to the Society at its annual meeting.

ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP.

SECTION 1. The membership of this Society shall consist of five classes, to wit: Active, Life, Affiliated, Corresponding, and Honorary.

SEC. 2. Any person may become an active member of this Society upon payment of such initiation fee not less than one dollar, as shall from time to time be prescribed by the board of directors.

SEC. 3. Any person entitled to be an active member may, upon payment of twenty-five dollars, be admitted as a life member with all the

privileges of an active member and shall thereafter be exempt from annual dues.

SEC. 4. County and other historical societies, and other societies engaged in historical or archaeological research or in the preservation of the knowledge of historic events, may, upon the recommendation of the board of directors, be admitted as affiliated members of this Society upon the same terms as to the payment of initiation fees and annual dues as active and life member. Every society so admitted shall be entitled to one duly credited representative at each meeting of the Society, who shall during the period of his appointment, be entitled as such representative to all the privileges of an active member except that of being elected to office; but nothing herein shall prevent such representative becoming an active or life member upon like conditions as other persons.

SEC. 5. Persons not active nor life members but who are willing to lend their assistance and encouragement to the promotion of the objects of this Society, may, upon recommendation of the board of directors, be admitted as corresponding members.

SEC. 6. Honorary membership may be conferred at any meeting of the Society upon the recommendation of the board of directors upon persons who have distinguished themselves by eminent services or contributions to the cause of history.

SEC. 7. Honorary and corresponding members shall have the privilege of attending and participating in the meetings of the Society.

ARTICLE IV—MEETINGS AND QUORUM.

SECTION 1. There shall be an annual meeting of this Society for the election of officers, the hearing of reports, addresses and historical papers and the transaction of business at such time and place in the month of May in each year as may be designated by the board of directors, for which meeting it shall be the duty of said board of directors to prepare and publish a suitable program and procure the services of persons well versed in history to deliver addresses or read essays upon subjects germane to the objects of this organization.

SEC. 2. Special meetings of the Society may be called by the board of directors. Special meetings of the boards of directors may be called by the President or any two members of the board.

SEC. 3. At any meeting of the Society the attendance of ten members entitled to vote shall be necessary to a quorum.

ARTICLE V—AMENDMENTS.

SECTION 1. The constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present and entitled to vote, at any annual meeting: *Provided,* that the proposed amendment shall have first been submitted to the board of directors, and at least thirty days prior to such annual meeting notice of proposed action upon the same, sent by the Secretary to all the members of the Society.

AN APPEAL TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

OBJECTS OF COLLECTION DESIRED BY THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

(*Members please read this circular letter.*)

Books and pamphlets on American history, biography, and genealogy, particularly those relating to the West; works on Indian tribes, and American archæology and ethnology; reports of societies and institutions of every kind, educational, economic, social, political, cooperative, fraternal, statistical, industrial, charitable; scientific publications of states or societies; books or pamphlets relating to the great rebellion, and the wars with the Indians; privately printed works; newspapers; maps and charts; engravings; photographs; autographs; coins; antiquities; encyclopedias, dictionaries, and bibliographical works. Especially do we desire

EVERYTHING RELATING TO ILLINOIS.

1. Every book or pamphlet on any subject relating to Illinois, or any part of it; also every book or pamphlet written by an Illinois citizen, whether published in Illinois or elsewhere; materials for Illinois history; old letters, journals.

2. Manuscripts; narratives of the pioneers of Illinois; original papers on the early history and settlement of the territory; adventures and conflicts during the early settlement, the Indian troubles, or the late rebellion; biographies of the pioneers; prominent citizens and public men of every county, either living or deceased, together with their portraits and autographs; a sketch of the settlements of every township, village, and neighborhood in the State, with the names of the first settlers. We solicit articles on every subject connected with Illinois history.

3. City ordinances, proceedings of mayor and council; reports of committees of council; pamphlets or papers of any kind printed by authority of the city; reports of boards of trade and commercial associations; maps of cities and plats of town sites or of additions thereto.

4. Pamphlets of all kinds; annual reports of societies; sermons or addresses delivered in the State; minutes of church conventions, synods, or other ecclesiastical bodies of Illinois; political addresses; railroad reports; all such, whether published in pamphlet or newspaper.

5. Catalogues and reports of colleges and other institutions of learning; annual or other reports of school boards, school superintend-

ents, and school committees; educational pamphlets, programs and papers of every kind, no matter how small or apparently unimportant.

6. Copies of the earlier laws, journals and reports of our territorial and State Legislatures; earlier Governors' messages and reports of State Officers; reports of State charitable and other State institutions.

7. Files of Illinois newspapers and magazines, especially complete volumes of past years, or single numbers even. Publishers are earnestly requested to contribute their publications regularly, all of which will be carefully preserved and bound.

8. Maps of the State, or of counties or townships, of any date; views and engravings of buildings or historic places; drawings or photographs of scenery; paintings; portraits, etc., connected with Illinois history.

9. Curiosities of all kinds; coins, medals, paintings; portraits; engravings; statuary; war relics; autograph letters of distinguished persons, etc.

10. Facts illustrative of our Indian tribes—their history, characteristics, religion, etc., sketches of prominent chiefs, orators and warriors, together with contributions of Indian weapons, costumes, ornaments, curiosities, and implements; also stone axes, spears, arrow heads, pottery, or other relics.

In brief, everything that, by the most liberal construction, can illustrate the history of Illinois, its early settlement, its progress, or present condition. All will be of interest to succeeding generations. Contributions will be credited to the donors in the published reports of the Library and Society, and will be carefully preserved in the State house as the property of the State, for the use and benefit of the people for all time.

Communications or gifts may be addressed to the Librarian and Secretary.

(Mrs.) Jessie Palmer Weber.

PART I

Record of Official Proceedings

1917

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY MAY 10-11, 1917.

The annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in the Supreme Court Chamber in the Illinois State Supreme Court Building at Springfield on Thursday and Friday, May 10-11, 1917.

The President of the Society, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, presided at all sessions.

The annual business meeting of the Society was held on Friday morning, when reports of officers and committee were presented, and the annual election of officers was held.

Hon. George A. Lawrence, of Galesburg, was elected Vice President in the place of Mr. W. T. Norton, resigned. Mr. Ensley Moore was elected Fourth Vice President, and Col. D. C. Smith, of Normal, was elected Director to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Capt. J. H. Burnham. Mr. Clinton L. Conkling, of Springfield, was elected a Director to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Judge J. O. Cunningham. A new office was created, that of assistant Secretary, to which Miss Georgia L. Osborne, of Springfield, was elected.

A very interesting exhibit of advertising material, showing the improper use of the United States Flag was made by Mr. E. R. Lewis, of Chicago, President of the American Flag Day Association of Illinois.

The program as presented is as follows:

ORDER OF EXERCISES.

THURSDAY MORNING, MAY 10, 10 O'CLOCK.

Directors' Meeting in Office of Secretary.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, 2:30 O'CLOCK, IN SUPREME COURT ROOM.

Mr. E. L. Bogart.....The Population of Illinois 1870-1910
University of Illinois.

Music.

Miss Verna Cooley.....Illinois and the Underground Railroad to Canada
University of Illinois.

Mr. Stephen A. Day.....A Celebrated Illinois Case that Made History
Chicago.

THURSDAY EVENING, 8 O'CLOCK, SUPREME COURT ROOM.

Music .....Illinois

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt.....The Illinois Centennial Celebration

Mr. George A. Rogers.....Reading. Reverie of Fifty Years Later,
Galesburg, Illinois. by Col. Clark E. Carr.

Music.

Dr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones.....Annual Address. Contemporary Vandalism
Chicago.

Order of Exercises.

Friday Morning, May 11, Business Meeting, 10 o'Clock.
Supreme Court Room.

Reports of Officers.
Reports of Committees.
Miscellaneous Business.
Election of Officers.
In Memoriam.....Brief tributes to some deceased members of the Society
Capt. J. H. Burnham..By Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Secretary of the Society
James Haines.....By Mr. W. R. Curran, Pekin

Friday Noon, 12:45 Sharp.
Luncheon—St. Nicholas Hotel.

Friday Afternoon, 2:30 o'Clock.
Supreme Court Room.

Rev. P. C. Croll..Thomas Beard, the Pioneer and Founder of Beardstown, Ill.
Beardstown, Illinois.
Music.....Mrs. Paul Starne
Mr. Theodore C. Pease...The Public Land Policy and Early Illinois Politics
University of Illinois.
Mr. Arthur C. Cole....."The Presidential Election of 1864"
University of Illinois.

Friday Afternoon, 5 to 6:30 o'Clock.
Mrs. Lowden will receive the Historical Society at the Executive Mansion.

MEETING OF DIRECTORS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 10, 1917.

The Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society met in the office of the Secretary:

There were present: Messrs. Schmidt, Rammelkamp, Page, Colyer, Clendenin and Mrs. Weber.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

The Secretary then gave her report which was approved.

Professor E. C. Page moved and it was seconded that the office of Assistant Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society be created, such recommendation to be made to the Society at its business meeting and that suggestion be made that Miss Georgia L. Osborne be nominated for such position when it is created.

It was moved and seconded that suggestion be made at the business meeting of the Society that Doctor Charles H. Rammelkamp and Professor E. C. Page be appointed to draw up resolutions deploring the death of two of our members, the former to write the resolutions on the death of Captain J. H. Burnham and the latter on Judge J. O. Cunningham.

A letter from Miss Augusta Wilderman was read to the Directors by the Secretary. Miss Wilderman has been a member of the Society for some years and requested permission to apply the membership dues she has already paid as a yearly member to the amount specified for life membership and send in a check for the balance due. Doctor Schmidt suggested that an amendment be made establishing an age limit. It was however, feared that a precedent might be established that later might prove inconvenient. Action was therefore deferred on this question till a later date.

There being no further business adjournment was taken.

THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 11, 1917.

The business meeting of the Society was held May 11, 1917, at 10 o'clock a. m. in the Supreme Court Building.

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, the President of the Society, called the meeting to order.

The first order of business was the report of officers. Dr. Schmidt asked that the Secretary submit her report. At the conclusion of the reading of the Secretary's report the Chairman asked what should be done with it. It was moved and seconded that the report be placed on file. Motion carried.

Dr. Schmidt then explained the significence of the Centennial Flag.

In Mrs. Weber's report the suggestion was made that Miss Georgia L. Osborne be made Assistant Secretary of the Society. Mr. Ensley Moore asked if that was a matter for the Society or Directors to act upon. Mrs. Weber replied that the Directors suggested that it be acted upon by the Society.

The report of the Treasurer was then submitted and Dr. Schmidt asked what was the pleasure of the Society with regard to it. Mr. Clendenin moved that it be placed on file. The motion was seconded and carried.

The Chairman then asked for a report of the Genealogical Committee, which was submitted by Miss Georgia L. Osborne. Dr. Schmidt, the Chairman, asked what should be done with this report. Mr. Silliman moved its adoption. The motion was seconded and carried.

The Chairman asked if there were any other committee reports?

Mrs. Weber made a report for the Program Committee and stated that Dean Greene was largely responsible for the excellent program this year. She said she believed she would allow the Society to accept as the report of the Program Committee the program for the 1917 meeting.

Dr. Schmidt stated that there were no other reports and that they would then take up the miscellaneous business. He stated that the motion of Mr. Moore would be in order and asked that he make the motion that the office of Assistant Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society be created.

Mr. Moore then moved that the office of Assistant Secretary be created and that Miss Georgia L. Osborne be elected to fill the position. The motion was seconded.

Mr. E. C. Page asked if it would not be well to amend the latter part of Mr. Moore's motion and suggested that the Nominating Committee make the appointment, that it would be a little more regular procedure.

Dr. Schmidt asked Mr. Moore if he would accept the amendment and he replied yes. Mr. Moore then made the amended motion which was seconded by Mr. Page, that the office of Assistant Secretary be created and that the name of Miss Georgia L. Osborne be recommended to the Nominating Committee. The motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. Lewis K. Torbet, of Chicago, asked to introduce the following resolution and stated that this same resolution had been adopted by the Illinois Society Sons of the American Revolution, the Hamilton Club of Chicago and the Union League:

WHEREAS, There has been introduced into the General Assembly of the State of Illinois, a proposed act known as Senate Bill No. 126 and House Bill No. 183 and said bill is now before the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate and House, and

WHEREAS, Said bill provides for a board of six trustees, to be known as "The Old Capitol Trustees," whose duty it will be to procure a conveyance from the county of Fayette, of the grounds and old Capitol building at Vandalia, Illinois, at a price not to exceed seventy thousand dollars; that said sum is to be appropriated by the State of Illinois for the purpose of said property, and

WHEREAS, This place and building has an historical interest to our State and believing that the "Old Capitol" grounds and building should become the property of the State of Illinois,

Therefore, Be it Resolved, That the Illinois State Historical Society in annual meeting assembled; places itself on record as favoring the purchase and maintenance by the State of Illinois, of the "Old Capitol" at Vandalia, Illinois. That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Governor of Illinois, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, of the General Assembly and to the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate and House, at Springfield, Illinois.

It was moved and seconded that this resolution be placed on file. Motion carried. Mr. Torbet stated that he thought that the people of the State ought to be more interested in their historic sites, that they are a matter of vital importance and that we should get our members of the Legislature interested. He named the several historic spots owned by the State and spoke of acquiring others.

Dr. Schmidt asked if there were any further remarks or new business and if not the Society would proceed to the election of officers. He spoke of the fact that there had been lost by death two Directors of the Society, Captain Burnham and Judge Cunningham. Also that the first Vice President, Hon. W. T. Norton of Alton, had written that it would be impossible for him to assume the duties of this office another term and requested that he be not re-elected. Therefore the position of first Vice President and Assistant Secretary also have to be filled and said that a motion to appoint a Nominating Committee would be in order.

The Chairman then named Judge Curran of Pekin, Mrs. I. G. Miller of Springfield, Mr. E. C. Silliman of Chenoa, Mr. Geo. Williams of Petersburg and Mrs. E. C. Baxter of Pawnee as the Nominating Com-

mittee. The Nominating Committee was then asked to withdraw to make their selection of officers for the coming year.

Dr. Schmidt, the Chairman, stated he was glad to report that one other historic spot will be marked through the personal interest of the mayor of Chicago, who bears the same name (Thompson,) but is not at all related. James Thompson was a pioneer of great importance and value. He was a soldier, lawyer and judge of the Probate Court for many years. He was prominently connected with the building of the Illinois-Michigan Canal and in the city of Chicago in its earliest form. He was appointed by the Canal Commissioners in 1829 and in that way surveyed the first city of Chicago, whose boundaries at that time were from State to Desplaines on the West, Madison to Kinzie on the north, an area of about three-quarters of a square mile. Mayor Thompson brought the matter of a monument before the council but they deemed it quite an unnecessary act for them, so the mayor personally took charge of the matter and the monument will be dedicated to James Thompson on Memorial Day.

Dr. Schmidt also stated that the matter of the house in which Lincoln lived at New Salem had been brought to his attention a number of times. He said that Mrs. Weber, Miss Osborne and himself had made a visit to New Salem to see this house. Of course there are only a few of the original logs left and the house itself does not occupy its original position as it had been moved a short distance away. The remainder of the cabin has been offered by its present owner for the sum of $500. Dr. Schmidt stated that he would simply bring the matter before the Society for its attention. A committee might go there and see for what sum a number of these logs could be bought. The corner logs for instance. They would show how these logs are fastened together.

Mrs. Jamison asked what had been done for the preservation of the house in which Lincoln was married?

Mrs. Weber stated that nothing had been done and the fund for the purchase of the land was insufficient for the purchase of the house. She stated she understood the house itself was for sale and suggested that Mr. Payne might be able to tell something about it.

Mr. Payne stated that he had not given the matter any thought, but he believed that the building was in the way of the new Memorial Building and it would not be possible to save it. That it would have to go to make room for progress. Mr. E. C. Page stated that he had been informed that the actual room in which the wedding had taken place had been removed from the house, and much of the interior had been remade since Lincoln's time so that with the exception of the central part of the house and one or two rooms the house is not as it was at the time of the Lincoln wedding.

Dr. Schmidt asked if there was any further new business.

Mrs. Weber spoke of the fact that she had been asked to call to the attention of the Society the danger the Lincoln home was in from fire and that it had been suggested that the houses close to and surrounding the Lincoln home from which there was danger of fire be secured by the State. She said that she did not know that the Society could do any more than to express their interest and apprehension.

Dr. Schmidt stated it was a very good suggestion and one that should be acted upon sometime, but that he was afraid at the present time the Society could do very little.

Mrs. Weber asked if a motion would be in order?

Col. Clark E. Carr was asked to offer the resolution, which he did.

Dr. Schmidt, the Chairman, stated that they had heard the sense of Col. Carr's resolution, which was seconded by Governor Yates, that there was considerable apprehension in regard to the preservation of the Lincoln home in case of fire and that some necessary steps should be taken by the proper authorities to prevent such a calamity. The motion carried.

Mr. E. C. Page said that he would like to offer a supplementary resolution if such was in order and that is that the President appoint a committee of three whose duty it would be to see if some measures could not be taken either privately or otherwise to have the Legislature give this matter attention. The motion was seconded and carried. Mr. Clendenin suggested that the President and Secretary be appointed.

The motion was seconded and carried that a committee of three be appointed consisting of the President and Secretary of the Society and one other to look into the matter of the Lincoln house at New Salem.

Dr. Schmidt asked if there was any other business. If not, that the chairman of the Nominating Committee would report.

Judge Curran, the chairman of the committee, then submitted his report as follows:

Honorary President.

Hon. Clark E. Carr.....Galesburg

President.

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt.....Chicago

First Vice President.

George A. Lawrence.....Galesburg

Second Vice President.

L. Y. Sherman.....Springfield

Third Vice President.

Richard Yates.....Springfield

Fourth Vice President.

Ensley Moore.....Jacksonville

Directors.

Edmund J. James, President, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Col. D. C. Smith.....Normal
E. B. Greene, University of Illinois.....Urbana-Champaign
Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber.....Springfield
Charles H. Rammelkamp, President Illinois College.....Jacksonville
Clinton L. Conkling.....Springfield

George W. Smith, Southern Illinois State Normal University ..... Carbondale
William A. Meese ..... Moline
Richard V. Carpenter ..... Belvidere
Edward C. Page, Northern Illinois State Normal School ..... DeKalb
J. W. Clinton ..... Polo
Andrew Russel ..... Jacksonville
Walter Colyer ..... Albion
James A. James, Northwestern University ..... Evanston
H. W. Clendenin ..... Springfield

Secretary and Treasurer.

Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber ..... Springfield

Assistant Secretary.

Miss Georgia L. Osborne ..... Springfield

Honorary Vice Presidents.

The Presidents of Local Historical Societies throughout the State of Illinois.

The report of the Nominating Committee was adopted and placed on file, and the Secretary was directed to cast the ballot for the officers named in the report of the Nominating Committee. This she did, and the officers named were declared elected.

Dr. Schmidt thanked the Society for his re-election.

He asked Mr. Page if he had a motion which he wished to make to the society. Mr. Page submitted his motion in regard to Judge Cunningham. It was moved and seconded that the adoption of the resolution on the death of Judge J. O. Cunningham be spread upon the minutes and communicated to the family of Judge Cunningham as follows:

"Joseph O. Cunningham in his life spanned the days between the heroic age in Illinois and our own time. He rode the lawyers' circuit. He knew Lincoln and was one of his associates. He was prominent among the men with 'empires in their brains,' who helped to pitch commonwealths in the wilderness. In our day he was one of the founders of the Illinois State Historical Society and was ever active in helping to preserve the story of our past and to transmit it to posterity; therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That this Society learns with great sorrow of the death of Mr. Cunningham and extends to his family its sincere sympathy. They and we and the State at large have lost a useful citizen and a good man."

Submitted by Edward C. Page.

The motion was seconded by Dr. Greene and carried.

Dr. Schmidt stated that Dr. Charles H. Rammelkamp of Jacksonville had been requested to prepare a resolution on Captain Burnham and that he had been unable to stay for the meeting to present it and asked to have Mrs. Weber read it, which was done.

"We, the Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society, wish hereby to place on record our sense of deep loss in the death of our colleague and friend Captain John Howard Burnham of Bloomington, Illinois. With his city and the State we mourn the loss of a distinguished citizen and a leader who gave noble service to the nation in time of extreme need, but we shall especially miss the inspiring presence of Captain Burnham at the meetings of the directors and members of our State Historical Society. He was ever

zealous for the welfare of the Society and deeply interested in every movement for the promotion of patriotic loyalty and the encouragement of an intelligent interest in the history of our State,

"*Resolved, further,* That the Secretary be instructed to send a copy of the above resolution to the family of Captain Burnham and to express to his family our deep sympathy."

The resolution was adopted unanimously by a rising vote.

Dr. Schmidt then asked what should be done with the resolution.

Mr. Clendenin stated that the Society itself should be included in expressing their regrets.

Dr. Schmidt asked that action be taken on this amendment.

Mr. Ensley Moore thought the idea a happy one and said that in taking notice of Captain Burnham's death the circumstances were more than ordinary. He spoke of the services of Captain Burnham to the Society and of his unswerving devotion to it and seconded the motion of amendment of the resolution of Mr. Clendenin.

Dr. Schmidt stated that the resolution of course would contain mention of the Society's action. The matter was then put to a motion, which was seconded and carried.

Dr. Schmidt said that the next order of business was a memorial paper on Captain Burnham, prepared by Mrs. Weber on rather short notice. President James who had intended to give and read a paper on Captain Burnham was prevented from attending.

Mrs. Weber then presented her memorial to Captain Burnham.

Dr. Schmidt requested that all arise and stand a few seconds in reverential respect to the memory of Captain Burnham.

The Memorial of Mr. Haines was then given by Judge Curran, of Pekin.

Col. D. C. Smith gave a short talk on Captain Burnham and expressed his appreciation of the tribute paid to Captain Burnham in Mrs. Weber's paper. He told of the many years he had known Captain Burnham and of his high respect and veneration of his character.

Mr. Carlock spoke of the work of Captain Burnham in behalf of the McLean County Historical Society and stated it was mainly through his efforts that it had become such a large and important Society. He also spoke of his great interest and devotion to the cause of State history and of the invaluable work he had done in its behalf.

Dr. Schmidt then asked if there was any further business.

There being none the meeting adjourned.

REPORT OF SECRETARY.

To the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society.

GENTLEMEN: I beg to submit to you my report as Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year ending May 9, 1917.

The past year has not been a year of remarkable happenings, but I have as usual to report continued progress and growth of interest. This interest is shown in many ways. First by the number of kind and appreciative letters which are received by the Secretary of the Society. Secondly, by the large number of letters and requests, and personal visits received by the Secretary, from historical students, from book publishers and numerous other individuals and associations asking advice and suggestions for historical projects, courses of study, publication of books, etc., and by the constantly increasing number of requests and invitations asking the Secretary of the Society or some member of it, to make historical addresses, and by the number of persons seeking membership in the Society, though memberships are no longer solicited, because the expense of large editions of our publications, and the cost of postage and expressage on them, the time and the labor involved in wrapping and labeling them under our present postoffice regulations make large editions a very heavy expense. Of course members are welcomed but we are deferring carrying on a real membership campaign until we have more commodious quarters, including a work room, and the necessary equipment for handling this work. In spite of these facts this Society is the largest State Historical Society in the United States in point of numbers. We have 1,460 annual members and 37 honorary and life members, a total of 1,497 members. We send our publications to 304 newspapers throughout the State and 633 libraries and historical societies, 102 county superintendents of schools, thus making a mailing list of 2,536. As our editions are but 3,000 which is the usual edition of State publications they are practically exhausted as soon as distributed.

It is not alone in the regular work of an historical society that this Society wields influence, but by the fact also that it is recognized as the legitimate agent for historical and allied work throughout the State. It is a tribute to the value and standing of the Historical Society that its officers are called upon to act in an official capacity in such great historical work as the preparation for and the carrying on of the State Centennial, a work so great as to interest the whole nation. This will, of course, be the absorbing work of this Society for the coming year and a half.

I would be very glad indeed if a plan could be devised by means of which the members of this Society could become acquainted with each other. I wish our communities would do more work. I came very near saying *some* work, instead of more work, but there are some honorable exceptions. I wish the members would make suggestions for the work of the Society and for articles and material for papers and addresses at meetings and for publication in the Journal. In other words, I wish this Society would wake up, would do more work in every branch. Surely the approach of our State Centennial the fact that next year is the Centennial year will cause us all to feel our responsibilities as citizens, and as members of a Society, the avowed aim of which is to search out, and to record state history. If we are interested in the history of our state we cannot fail to feel the greatest pride and gratification in the opportunity which the Centennial celebration affords us to prove our devotion to Illinois and its history.

I beg you to consider what this Society will do as its part of the celebration. Our annual meeting next year must be adequate to the occasion. We must have a splendid observance. Can we invite delegates from other state societies to attend? There are many ways in which we can aid in the celebration, members of this Society ought to be leaders in local celebrations, in assisting or directing in the necessary study for the production of pageants.

Please consider seriously, our program for next year. I hope a new Program Committee will be appointed.

On December 7, 1916, selected because December 3, Illinois day, the real anniversary of the admission of the State fell on Sunday, the Society held a special meeting. An excellent address was delivered by Gov. E. W. Major of Missouri. The title of the address was "The Log Cabin Period in Middle Western History." Governor Major is a pleasing speaker, and talking on this subject was a labor of love to him. The address seemed as spontaneous as ordinary conversation. It was much enjoyed by a large audience.

At this meeting Governor E. F. Dunne on being introduced by Dr. Schmidt, the President of this Society, presided over the meeting. Governor Major and the directors of the Society were entertained at dinner the same evening by the Governor and Mrs. Dunne at the Executive Mansion and they appreciated the courtesy of the invitation and the privilege of the visit with the Governor and his family. At the dinner table on this occasion were the Governor and Mrs. Dunne, three sons and four daughters and a daughter-in-law, and after dinner the Governor proudly showed the guests an infant grand-son. The directors of the Society appreciated, as I have said, the hospitality and the glimpse of this delightful family.

The Secretary has made addresses at various places during the year on historical subjects, usually on the State Centennial. Among them being a visit to Cincinnati to the American Historical Association, Rock Island (two visits,) Danville, Ottawa, Streator, Vandalia and Lincoln, and while not making an address I attended the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, in Chicago.

At the special meeting of December 7, the Society had the pleasure of hearing from Miss Lotte E. Jones of Danville in regard to the work and the plans of the Lincoln Circuit Marking Association. The work of this association is to properly mark the cross roads and historic spots in the old Eighth Illinois Judicial Circuit which was for many years traversed in going from county seat to county seat to attend the circuit courts by Abraham Lincoln and the other lawyers of that history making period. The members of this association are mostly members of the historical society, though the work is under the auspices of the Illinois Daughters of the American Revolution. It is a noble and important work. We ought to aid it in every way possible. I hope Miss Jones will tell you more about it. This work completed should be a part of our Centennial Celebration.

Local historical societies are doing good work, and I believe if proper attention is given to the matter many associations formed as County Centennial Associations can be continued as local or county historical societies. I hope members will consider this matter and not neglect this opportunity.

Gifts to the Library and Society are acknowledged in the Journal and for that reason I will not take your time by mentioning many of them, but I will briefly mention a few of the more interesting ones. The son and daughter of the late George N. Black gave to this Society the books of their father. There are about 2,500 volumes in the collection. Miss Osborne and I personally superintended the moving of the books from Mr. Black's old home to the State House. The library is a general one and it seemed best to place the volumes where they will do the most good. From this collection Mr. John W. Black and Mrs. Stericker have presented to the Springfield Art Association a number of books useful to art students. We have taken out the books along our special line, Illinois State and Western history, except where the volumes are duplicates of books in our own collection. The general works are to be turned over to the State Library Extension Commission and will be given to small or newly founded libraries throughout the State, but in each volume, those we keep and those that go out, a book plate or label is pasted bearing these words in plain clear type:

"From the library of George N. Black, Springfield, Illinois. A gift to the Libraries of Illinois by the son and daughter of George N. Black."

Mr. Black loved the libraries of Illinois. He loved books. He loved this Society. I am glad that in this way his name is linked to these objects which were so dear to him.

The Society has received as a gift from James L. Cook and John C. Cook, the sons of General John Cook, and grandsons of Daniel P. Cook, some very interesting letters and documents from the correspondence of Daniel P. Cook.

We have also received three interesting original letters the gift of Mr. DeWitt Smith of Springfield, one being of particular interest in that it is written to Nathaniel Pope, August 17, 1818, and relates to the

admission of the State of Illinois into the Union. The writer was E. W. Ripley afterwards General Ripley.

Mr. Clinton L. Conkling continues his generous gifts to the Society as does Miss Louise I. Enos and Mr. H. S. Dixon of Dixon. I have made many appeals for material of this nature. I now repeat it, and again call your attention to the circular letter asking for it. Last year at our annual meeting the Society received as a gift from Mrs. Geo. A. Lawrence of Galesburg the beautiful State banner, which is displayed to-day. Mrs. Lawrence had worked zealously to have this flag adopted and largely through her efforts a law was passed by the Forty-ninth General Assembly authorizing the people of the State to have this flag, recognizing it as a State flag and describing it.

The Centennial Banner which is also before you must not be confused with the Illinois State Flag. The Centennial Banner is to advertise the State Centennial, and can be used in many ways in which it would not be proper to use our State flag.

The Centennial Banner was designed by Mr. Wallace Rice of Chicago and the design was by him presented to the Centennial Commission.

Please do not confuse these two in your minds, and please explain the difference where to your knowledge such confusion exists or arises.

The reference work that is done in the historical library is very great and increases every day. We assist in making up club programs. We recommend reading lists, we hunt up material on every subject. We furnish "This day in Illinois history," which appears in the newspapers and which I hope you see and read.

Our genealogical students and enquirers are constant and interested. Our patrons tell us that Miss Osborne is the most accommodating and painstaking helper to be found in any genealogical library. I think those of you who visit the Library will testify to this, even though you may not be making genealogical researches. I would like to give my personal testimony to the fact that she is the most unselfish and untiring of assistants and friends, devoted at all times to the interest of this Society and the Library. If you think it proper, I would like to recommend that she be elected Assistant Secretary of the Society, if the constitution permits it and she is now that in all but name. I also wish to say that the Society is under great obligation to Miss Anne C. Flaherty, another assistant in the Library who cheerfully performs much gratuitous service for the Society. Without the devoted assistance of these two young ladies I would be unable to perform all of the tasks which are a part of each day's work.

It is my sad duty to report to you the death of 28 members of this Society since my last report. We try to publish brief biographical notices of our deceased members in the Journal. We are not always informed of deaths. Those members who have passed away since my last report are:

Burnham, Capt. J. H., Bloomington, Illinois, January 21, 1917; Bush, J. B., Hennepin, Illinois, February 17, 1916; Crowder, Mrs. Martha Tomlin, Springfield, Illinois, January 29, 1917; Campbell, Edw-

ard T., St. Louis, Missouri, October 18, 1916; Connelly, Major H. C., Pasadena, California, December 30, 1916; Cunningham, Judge J. O. Urbana, Illinois, April 30, 1917; Dugan, Mrs. J. J. Springfield, Illinois, September 22, 1916; Edwards John H., West Union, Illinois, November 16, 1913; Foss, Mrs. George E., Chicago, Illinois, January 27, 1917; Gordon, Daniel, Moline, Illinois; Harvey, Dr. L. J., Griggsville, Illinois, January 17, 1916; Harris, N. W., Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, 1916; Henry, Mackay, Mt. Carroll, Illinois, July 22, 1916; Haskell, Dr. W. A., Alton, Illinois, July, 1916; Kirby, Hon. E. P., Jacksonville, Illinois, February 25, 1917; Leaverton, Mrs. C. A., Springfield, Illinois, April 6, 1917; McGrady, J. I., Jerseyville, Illinois, September, 1916; Nelson, William E., Decatur, Illinois, January 16, 1915; Pierson, A. V., Lexington, Illinois, January 24, 1916; Pogue, H. W., Jerseyville, Illinois, November 21, 1916; Parker, C. M., Taylorville, Illinois, August 24, 1916; Reed, Miss Harriet A. M., Hebron, Illinois; Sweet, M. P., Utica, Illinois; Selleck, Wm. E., Chicago, Illinois, February, 1917; Tyler, C. C., Fountain Green, April 22, 1917; Wells, E. S., Lake Forest, Illinois, June 10, 1916; White, Horace, New York City, September 17, 1916; Woolley, Myron, Streator, Illinois, March, 1916.

I will not touch on the work of the Centennial Commission. Dr. Schmidt will tell you of this. I would like to tell you of his work for the cause of State history in all its phases. He would not allow me to do so, but some of it, though by no means all, speaks for itself.

I want to congratulate this Society upon the fact that it is growing and flourishing. If members and committees are not active, that does not mean that they are not interested. In all associations a few persons do the work. This is not ideal, not desirable—but it is a condition and not a theory that confronts us. These conditions exist in all associations which are not pressed by some living, vital force of the present. It does not mean a lack of interest. It means only that members have so many pressing, pushing duties that they are willing to leave historical matters in the hands of those few to whom it seems of most vital, and urgent interest, but let our Nation or State, their history, their heroes or their traditions be assailed and love and veneration, that which we call patriotism bursts forth and burns brightly.

Historical societies have great and practical duties. One of them is to show to the present generation that Republics are not ungrateful. We can aid to-day, the cause of our country, by showing to the young heroes of the present, that we honor the men and women who founded our nation and our commonwealth, that we preserve with love and veneration the names and memories of those heroes of other crises, other wars. That to keep undimmed and faithfully recorded their names and their deeds is our sacred duty, and if such fate shall be the portion of those brave souls who defend us to-day, their names will not be forgotten, the story of their sacrifices left to chance but the historical society will try to keep green and immortal the story of their valor.

The Nation and the State will cover with laurel the great ones of the Nation, but to the State and local historical society, in the future as it has been in the past will be the duty and privilege of searching out

and recording the short and simple annals of the humblest ones, as well as the greater heroes of our State and nation. This should be, it is, one incentive to patriotism. It has been one way by means of which patriotism has grown in the hearts and minds of American people, of all peoples, the knowledge of their glorious history.

Historical societies do not record heroes and dramas of war alone. Peace has its victories as well as war. Our duty is to search out, to ferret out, historical facts of all kinds, to record them, to publish them, in some way to preserve them.

The field is very large.

It is our field.

It is our duty.

How are we performing it? We have done fairly well, but we must do better.

Let us make the Centennial year a rich and full year for the Illinois State Historical Society filled with labor and achievement.

Respectfully submitted,

JESSIE PALMER WEBER, *Secretary.*

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY.

To the members of the Illinois State Historical Society:

In our last report to the Society we stated that we were making an effort to secure county histories of the various states comprising the Northwest Territory, as students working on the early pioneers of the State ask as a rule for material on Ohio and Indiana. We have to report in our genealogical collection the following county histories. *From Indiana,* having ninety-two counties, we have twenty-nine, namely: Allen, Boone, Carroll, Clay, Clinton, Dearborn, Henry, Howard, Johnson, LaPorte, Lawrence, Marion, Miami, Monroe, Ohio, Owen, Park, Randolph, Saint Joseph, Tipton, Union, Vanderburgh, Vigo, Wayne.

Ohio, out of 88 counties we have 29, namely:

Athens, Auglaize, Columbiana, Coshocton, Erie, Franklin, Geauga, Guernsey, Hamilton, Hancock, Hardin, Highland, Knox, Lake, Licking, Lorain, Lucas, Marion, Mahoning, Medina, Montgomery, Portage, Richland, Seneca, Summit, Trumbull, Washington, Wood, Wayne.

With regard to Wisconsin and Minnesota, the other states of the Northwest Territory, we have not made as great an effort to secure these histories as they were not called for as a rule.

As we have often stated in our reports, we are continually on the lookout for histories and historical sketches of Virginia, Kentucky, North and South Carolina, and Tennessee, to help out workers whose ancestors came from these states.

We again ask the cooperation of the members of the Society in securing for this department early historical sketches of localities in the State, church history, educational history, old letters containing bits of family history, which otherwise may be lost; we publish from time to time these letters in our Journal and they are read with great interest and have in many cases furnished information which could not have been secured any where else.

Our workers are from many parts of the United States and they express themselves as surprised at our collection and the care with which it has been selected and its usefulness.

We expect to publish in the Journal in a future issue an addition to our genealogical list published as No. 18, of the publications of the Library. We have received the following family histories as gifts to this department:

Sherman Family. Gift of Mr. Bradford Sherman, Chicago.

Sanborn Ancestry—Supplement. Gift of Mr. V. C. Sanborn, Kenilworth, Illinois.

Frost Family. Gift of Charles S. Frost, Chicago.

Newkirk, Hamilton & Bayless families. Gift of Thomas J. Newkirk, Evanston, Illinois.

I watch very carefully the periodicals, genealogical magazines and newspapers for compilations of family histories and in cases where they are by Illinoisans, we write and ask that a copy be deposited in the Library and have always had prompt replies followed by copies of the books if printed.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE,
Chairman of the Genealogical Committee,
Illinois State Historical Society.

JOHN HOWARD BURNHAM.

(By Jessie Palmer Weber.)

It hardly seemed that the Illinois State Historical Society could hold a meeting without the presence of Captain John H. Burnham, for this is the first meeting in the history of the Association which has not been in a large measure pervaded by his keen, active, magnetic influence. We expect to see his familiar figure, not tall but rugged and vigorous, to catch a glance from his bright, far-seeing eyes, which were undimmed by his eighty-two years

John Howard Burnham was born at Essex, Massachusetts, October 31, 1834. His father was John Burnham and his mother Sarah Choate Perkins.

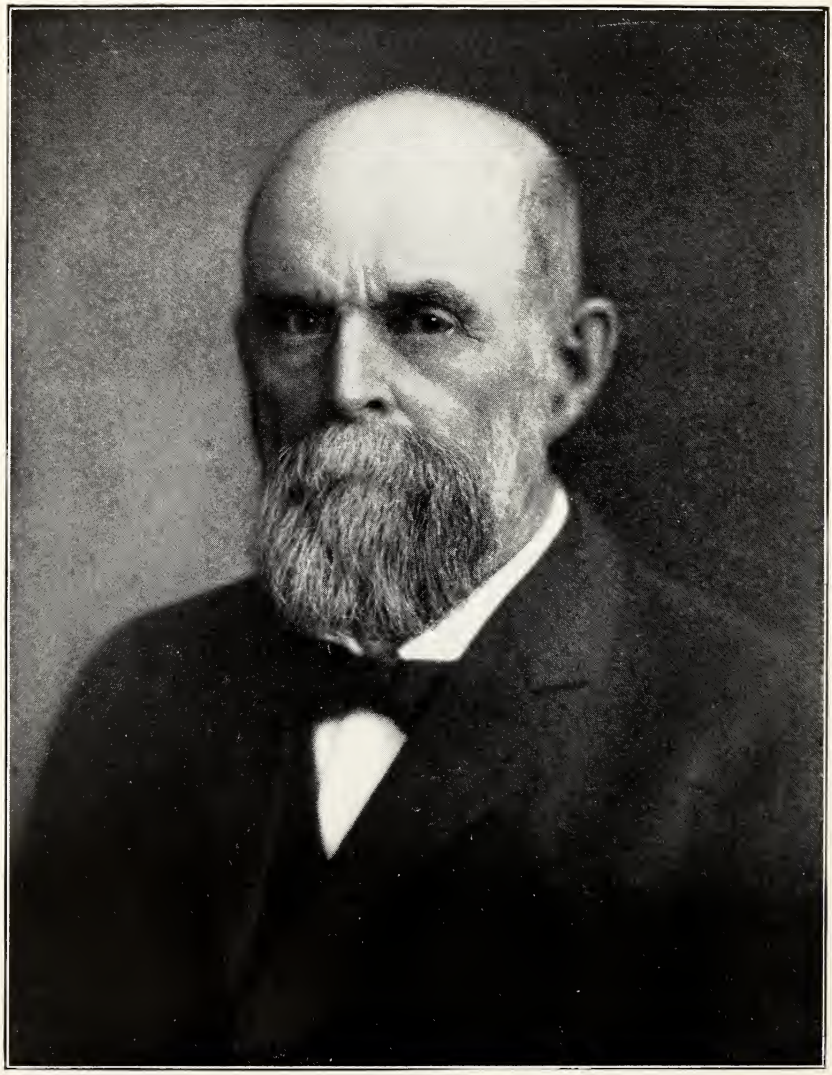
The town of Essex, Captain Burnham's birthplace was taken off of Ipswich in 1819, and is situated near the end of Cape Ann. The father, John Burnham, inherited the orginal home of the first American emigrant of the family, also a John Burnham, who came from Norwich, England, to Ipswich in 1634, and who was a soldier in the Pequot Indian War in 1637. For his service in this war John Burnham was given a grant of farm lands by the town of Ipswich.

The grandmother of Captain Burnham, his mother's mother was a Choate, of the family of Rufus Choate and Joseph H. Choate. Sarah Perkins Burnham lived to the age of ninety-eight years. She died in 1905, when her son John H. Burnham was past seventy years of age.

Captain Burnham was much interested in the genealogy of the different branches of his family and in New England history and his love for his Illinois home did not lessen his interest in these studies.

In 1855, when twenty-one years of age, John H. Burnham joined an emigrant party and came west to Illinois. He often told of this journey and its wonders and delights as well as its hardships and inconviences, and of the many changes he saw in methods of travel in the sixty years during which he made journeys, back to New England, quite frequent ones, for he returned to visit his mother as often as possible during her long lifetime.

For a time after coming to Illinois he taught school at Barrington in Cook County, but as soon as he had earned the money he entered the State Normal University at Normal, and on July 3, 1861, he graduated from that institution in its second class. This was the year of the breaking out of the Civil War. Young Burnham with his New England ancestry and training felt strongly the wrong of slavery and oppression and was an ardent supporter of Abraham Lincoln and his policies, and he was



CAPT. JOHN H. BURNHAM.

One of Founders of the Illinois State Historical Society and a Director of the Society since its Organization in 1899.

not alone in that, for to the everlasting glory of the Normal University it may be said that every student and teacher in the institution who could pass the physical examination enlisted. The president of the University, Charles E. Hovey, was appointed Colonel of the regiment raised chiefly at the University. It was the 33rd Illinois Volunteer Infantry and was known as "The Schoolmaster's Regiment." The state of Ohio also had such a regiment of teachers and students, of which James A. Garfield was Colonel. John H. Burnham was elected first lieutenant of Company A of this regiment and afterwards became the Captain of the Company. He served a year taking part in several battles, among them the Battle of Frederickstown, Missouri, and Cache River, Arkansas. He also saw service in many skirmishes, but in the summer of 1862 he was stricken with typhoid fever and his illness continuing, he was compelled to resign from the army in April, 1863. This was a great grief to Captain Burnham, and he always sincerely deplored it.

As soon as his health permitted him to do so, he resumed his work as a teacher. He served for a year as superintendent of the schools of the city of Bloomington. He resigned this office however to become editor of the Bloomington Pantagraph. As the editor of an influential newspaper Captain Burnham found a congenial field for his talents. He was young, being about thirty years of age. His mind was clear and active. He was fearless and a strong partisan, but he had an innate sense of justice and clear vision. He often said that he learned more of human nature in his three years experience as editor of the Pantagraph than during any other period of his life.

In 1867 he became contracting agent for the King Bridge Company of Cleveland, Ohio, and continued with this company for thirty-five years. During this long period of hard work he was very active. He placed iron bridges in half of the counties in Illinois, and it is claimed that he was in the bridge business for a longer, continuous time than any other man in the United States. In the pursuit of his business he of course traveled extensively over the State of Illinois and became very familiar with its topography, being a natural student of history and keenly interested in people, and their interests and life stories, he acquired a great fund of information about Illinois and its people. This interest grew, up to the day of his death, and the knowledge thus secured was of great value to him and to the cause of State history. He was very thorough in his investigations. He was not satisfied to know things on the surface. He went to the bottom of things. He was naturally methodical and painstaking. He was never afraid or ashamed to ask a question or to admit that he did not know when he himself was asked to give information.

At the expiration of thirty-five years service with the King Bridge Company, Captain Burnham became the head of a bridge construction company under the firm name of Burnham and Ives. He also had an interest in the Decatur Bridge Company. He had a very large acquaintance throughout the State, his bridge contracts of course causing him to make the acquaintance of many county officials.

On January 22, 1866, John H. Burnham was married to Almira S. Ives, the daughter of Almon B. Ives, a pioneer lawyer of Illinois. These two lived together for fifty-one years.

Mrs. Burnham is a talented, cultured woman, active in church and social work. She is a member of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution and shared with her husband his interest in genealogy and history. She early showed a talent for painting in oils and water colors and she has devoted years to her art.

Captain Burnham was very proud of the work of his wife and they having no children were comrades and co-laborers in every sense of the word.

On January 22, 1916, they celebrated their golden wedding. Their home was beautifully decorated with yellow flowers and many golden gifts were showered upon them. A large assemblage of friends called to pay respects to this man and woman who had together walked through so many changing years. At that time neither of them seemed old. Both were apparently free from traces of feebleness. Many old friends congratulated them. It was a joyous occasion. Former Governor and Mrs. Joseph W. Fifer were there. General James S. Ewing and his wife, Colonel and Mrs. D. C. Smith, Mrs. Sarah A. Raymond Fitzwilliam and many other well known residents of McLean County assembled at the Burnham home and talked of former days and former friends. The Boys' Band from the Soldier's Orphans Home came to serenade their friend and patron. Captain Burnham was very happy to see all these friends under his own roof. No one who had the privilege of attending this Golden Wedding can forget it. The affection of Captain and Mrs. Burnham for each other so beautifully and simply expressed, their happiness, and their appreciation of the expressions of good will from their friends was a benediction, a sight to make one sure of the noble qualities of human nature, and to be remembered as the harvest time, the golden glow of two faithful lovers.

Captain Burnham was a member of the Presbyterian Church, and of the Masonic Fraternity and of course was active in the work of the G. A. R., but it is as a worker in, and recorder of, local history that he will be most honored, and longest remembered. He was from earliest youth, as has already been stated, an enthusiastic historical student, and his letters to his mother in New England after his coming to Illinois, and during his army service gave evidence of an ability to express his ideas clearly and well. His experience as editor of the Pantagraph gave him confidence and precision of style.

As he grew older and had more leisure his interest grew and his writings increased. In 1879 he published a history of Bloomington and Normal. In 1881 in cooperation with the late Judge H. W. Beckwith of Danville, first President of the Illinois State Historical Society, who was a most patient and devoted student of Illinois history, he wrote the history of an ancient Indian Fort in McLean County.

On March 10, 1892, the McLean County Historical Society was organized. Captain Burnham, Ezra M. Prince, John M. Scott, William McCambridge, Henry S. Swayne and Peter Folsom, were the organizers. From that time until his death Captain Burnham, was one

of the leading spirits in the organization and was active in writing, compiling or editing its historical series, among which may be mentioned the War Records of McLean County, and the School Records of McLean County, these being volumes one and two of the McLean County Historical collections. He was a contributor on historical subjects to various newspapers and periodicals among which may be mentioned a voluminous article, showing that the first outbreak against the tyranny of England in the American Colonies, was at Ipswich, Massachusetts, the first home of his family in America. This was published in the Journal of American History September, 1915.

In 1899 the Illinois State Historical Society was organized by a few interested students of Illinois history. They met at Urbana at the University of Illinois. Judge H. W. Beckwith was elected President, and Prof. E. B. Greene, Secretary. Captain Burnham attended this meeting and was elected one of the directors of the Society which office he filled until his death.

His service to this Society can not be measured. He loved his adopted State and its history. His home was in Illinois for sixty-one of his eighty-two years.

He was faithful to the interest of the Society at all times. He was an indefatigable worker. He had great physical endurance and mental poise. He was not easily influenced, nor to be turned aside nor changed from his purpose. He was a modest man, not a very ready talker. He had the habit of listening, paying close attention. He took an active part in all of the business and matters which concerned the Historical Society. He gave its affairs earnest thought. He made many contributions to its transactions and publications. He was from the first number an associate editor of its Quarterly Journal.

A list of his written contributions to the Society will be appended to this article.

The last large task which he performed for the Society was his exhaustive paper on the destruction of Kaskaskia by the Mississippi River. To this work he devoted months of patient labor, and made many visits to Randolph County to verify statements and to obtain information. His familiarity with the neighborhood of Kaskaskia acquired in his bridge building days, as well as his habit of close observation and patient research made of him the one person who could do this work. That he did it—that he was able to complete the task is something for which the Historical Society has reason to be thankful. It is impossible for anyone not familiar with this article to appreciate the labor which Captain Burnham devoted to it. It is however but one instance of his devotion to Illinois State History.

Captain Burnham's last visit to Springfield was on December 7, 1916, on the occasion of a special meeting of the Historical Society in commemoration of the Ninety-eighth anniversary of the admission of the State of Illinois into the Federal Union. The actual anniversary (December 3) fell on Sunday, and the 7th was selected for the commemoration. An address was delivered by Governor E. W. Major of Missouri. Captain Burnham very much enjoyed the occasion. Governor Major and the officers of the Historical Society were entertained at

dinner by the Governor and Mrs. Dunne. All who saw Captain Burnham spoke of his rugged appearance and good spirits. He died January 20, 1917.

The Illinois State Historical Society is now holding its eighteenth annual meeting. Of that little company who met at Urbana to form the Society, its first President, H. W. Beckwith has gone. Ezra M. Prince, George Perrin Davis, David McCulloch, George N. Black and J. O. Cunningham have also passed on. All of these men gave true and unselfish service to the Society, but it is no disparagement to their work and their memory to say that Captain John H. Burnham gave more years of untiring toil, more hours of anxious thought to the Illinois State Historical Society and its interests than did any other of the fathers and founders of the Society.

Captain Burnham was a man typical of New England. He was conscientious, faithful, industrious, just and true, a progressive citizen, yet conservative in all things. The kind of a man whose word is his bond, a patient builder of bridges of thought upon which his associates, their children and their children's children may cross to a better understanding of the lives, the toils and sacrifices of those who made the State of Illinois.

His name, his toil will, we hope, reap the reward of the pioneer who made it is said:

"Both straight and true
Every broken furrow run,
The strength you sweat
Shall blossom yet
In golden glory to the sun."

Writings of Capt. John H. Burnham in publications of the Illinois State Historical Library and Society.

Forgotten Statesmen of Illinois. John McLean. In Pub. No. 8. 1903. Illinois State Historical Library.

Mysterious Indian Battle Grounds in McLean County, Illinois. In Pub. No. 13. 1908. Illinois State Historical Library.

History of the Thirty-third Regiment, Volunteer Infantry. In Pub. No. 17. 1912. Illinois State Historical Library.

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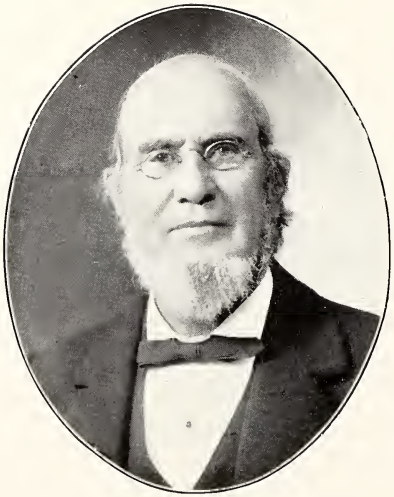

JAMES HAINES.

JAMES HAINES—IN MEMORIAM.

(Report of a special committee of the Tazewell County Bar on the life and services of James Haines. Read by Mr. W. R. Curran.)

Time proves that the things of the spirit only, survive; that the things of the physical senses perish with us. The oldest living thing known to man is the General Sherman tree, in Sequoia National Park. When the Pharoahs builded the pyramids in the Valley of the Nile, it was alive. When Abraham came out of Ur of the Chaldeans, its crest stood in defiance of the lightning. When Moses received the tables of the law at Mount Sinai, it was true to the law of life. When the Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judea, its leaves furnished shade, shelter and promised comfort. His star in the Cerean sky was fellow to the north star as it lit its plumed crest.

The tree has withstood destruction for nearly twenty centuries since that day. It is when we consider these stupendous comparisons that we are able to reach out our hands and touch the hem of the garment of meaning, when we read the words of ancient Revelation:

"For a thousand years in Thy sight are but as yesterday; when it is past and as a watch in the night."

We can commence to think of this hoary old tree as getting old. The pride of its life is past. Its form is shrinking and its top is shorn and bald. It stands a prophecy of its coming fall; while the faith of Abraham has grown younger and more virile with the flight of time. The tables of the law of Moses have formed the genesis of the law of the civilized nations of the world. The things of the spirit revealed by the Galilean were true before time was. They have grown brighter and clearer in the hearts of man during all the centuries and the things of the spirit will remain radiant and true when time and sense of material things are no more. This fixed law of things spiritual, accounts for the growing light of the centuries. It states a reason why the thresh-hold of the twentieth century is brighter, freer and more inviting than any since time began. Spiritual truth spreads a halo of glory over things and makes even the material more blessed.

It was the good fortune of him, whom we memoralize to live his life over the greater part of the nineteenth century, the greatest century the world has seen. It was also his lot to live on the firing line of the westward march of civilization, at the spot where the savage and civilian met; to be a part of the great change from the rude savage to civilization.

Illinois, the third State of this nation, carved out of the Northwest Territory, was four years old when he was born, its population was

less than fifty thousand. He came to his cabin home in what is now Cincinnati Township, within eighteen years after the massacre at Fort Dearborn. When the hearth stones were placed in the Haines fireplace, the trees growing in front of the Kinzie cabin at Fort Dearborn were saplings. His elder brother, William Haines, was one of the proprietors of "Town Site" before the Village of Chicago was platted. Within the span of his life on earth, he saw the population of his adopted state exceed six millions of the most virile people that have trod the earth; and overflow their own state lines and help to build Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, and Colorado and enrich the sand-dunes of the Valley of the Sacramento with their surplus wealth. He saw the ox team grow into the steam railroad, trolley car, automobile and flying machine; and the dug-out become a steamship. In his time, the pony express grew to telegraph lines, telephone and the wireless. He experienced the growth of the reaping hook into the grain cradle and the Haines' Header and did battle with the McCormick for supremacy and was in the fight. He saw slavery grow to universal liberty and had the experience of witnessing the great contest between his fellow lawyers, the great Emancipator and the great Senator of Illinois on the very ground where we are now assembled.

He lived to see the nations of the earth, come to the very ground where fell the victims of savage warfare at Fort Dearborn, bring the products of their art, manufactories, science and literature to unite in the World's Fair; the great material triumph of Democracy—Truly his life was a great experience. His century the crown of them all.

James Haines was born in Butler County, Ohio, near Oxford, September 10, 1822. He died in the city of Pekin, September 11, 1909, aged eighty-seven years, and his body was buried at the Haines' Cemetery, within less than a mile of his playground when a boy. His father was Joseph Haines, who with his family, consisting of Sarah Haines and eleven children, emigrated to Tazewell County, Illinois, arriving at the Dillon Settlement in November, 1827; on that date the population within the present limits of the county was one hundred. From his fifth year, James Haines lived in Tazewell County. The family first occupied a cabin in the Dillon Settlement, until such time as Joseph Haines, the father entered his claim, three miles southeast of "Town Site," now the city of Pekin and built his home in February, 1828. He has written a graphic description of the journey and the home.

"The trip from Ohio to Illinois occupied forty days. It was made by wagons, drawn by horses or oxen and sometimes both, a span of horses were used in the lead and a yoke of oxen being hitched next to the wagon and sometimes two or three yoke of oxen were required to draw a heavy wagon and its load. Traveled roads and bridges were unknown and of course for many years after, only wagon tracks, left in the spongy soil, guided the movers to unbridged fords, or the best crossing of streams, sloughs and swamps. Plentiful and continuous rains in the spring and fall, thawed out the frozen ground or when only slightly frozen, made conditions of travel quite impossible."

The cabin home of the Haines family was rude in construction, as all buildings in the Illinois country necessarily had to be. There was not

a nail, screw, bolt or scrap of iron used in any part of it. There was no tin or metal attached to it; no glass in the windows; no transoms or skylights. It contained one room on the first floor, sixteen by eighteen feet, an upstairs loft or garret of smaller dimensions, as the sloping roof curtailed the area of height sufficient for erect occupation and use. Within these two rooms, the father, mother and eight children, who were yet at home, found ample accommodations and home surroundings. Writing of it, Mr. Haines says:

"Within these two rooms of circumscribed size and height, we found all the pleasures and joys now distributed by modern civilization, refinement and the best society over habitable house-territory, designated in part by hospitable fashion as: hall, reception room, sitting room, parlor, double parlor, music room, bed room, guest room, chambers, closet, kitchen, laundry, lavatory, bath room and servants' room."

In this log cabin, Mr. Haines resided with the members of his father's family, yet remaining at home, until his twenty-fourth year. Conditions at that time in Tazewell County were primitive indeed. From 1827 to 1831, Indians roamed the country freely, some friendly, some hostile. The "injuns" as they were then called, infested and committed depredations all over the frontier country. They were composed of various tribes.

"Town Site" afterwards organized as the city of Pekin was the last town on the line of the Indians' progress south on their hunting trips, where they obtained ammunition, powder, lead and shot, gun flints and other equipment for their hunting campaign. Hence, they always stopped at "Town Site" on their way down the river. At that time there was about a hundred white residents of "Town Site" and about three hundred of the Indians. As they came down the river, their canoes and other craft were landed on the long sand bar on the west side of the channel of the river, opposite "Town Site." On this sand bar, the canoes were landed and unloaded, the squaws, very old men, papooses and little Indians remained on the sand bar, while the warriors and hunters came across the river to "Town Site" to purchase and barter materials at the trading station. The papooses tumbled pell-mell into the shallow water, like turtles or little pigs. At that time the Indians camped in the winter in the timber south of Dillon Creek in Dillon Township. They continued in this county until after the Black Hawk War in 1832.

Of the charms of the new country, Mr. Haines has written:

"There was a charm about the new home, a fascination in all our surroundings, that claimed our allegiance and love in spite of all temporary inconvenience, sickness, suffering, death and sorrow. The broad, limitless expanse of unclaimed, unused virgin nature appealed to us in all its smiling beauty to be used, occupied and enjoyed by man and woman for virtuous civilized homes of love and human production. It seemed a new Garden of Eden without a serpent. Knowledge was ours, our eyes were opened, and we feared no fall."

Of the social conditions, he has used the following language:

"Call to mind the many quilting, carpet-rag-sewing, apple-paring, pumpkin peeling frolics, made by the girls and matrons, the corn shuckings, wood choppings, rail splittings, house and barn raisings by boys and men; wild berrying, nutting and many other parties made and

joined in by male and female of all ages and sparking opportunities were plenty.

"And then and over and above all, and better than all other opportunities for sparking, love making and falling in love with each other, came the annual Methodist camp meeting! Blessings on the memory of these rude, wild exciting camp meetings! Organized by the religious element in good men and women of the illiterate period when nearly all the books known to us were summed up in the scant list of Bible, Hymn Book, Pilgrim's Progress, Robinson Crusoe, and "The Indian Book" for spiritual culture and comfort. All classes and conditions far and near attended and were made hospitably and socially welcome to tent and table, mourner's bench and family circle. Preachers, elders and heads of families gave devout, inspired attention and labor to the spiritual demands and needs of the miscellaneous congregation, and looked after the interests of the Methodist church organization. The younger persons present, of both sexes, gave more attention to worldly interests, and affairs of the heart were in the ascendant. Too young to join in these delectable enterprises myself, memory seems to say all times, all places afforded opportunity—nay inducement—to spark the pretty girls, fall in love with them, marry them, and live happy prosperous lives. Getting married meant something practical then. A log cabin soon followed on a claim made by the husband. Corn bread, hominy, wild game, bacon, eggs and butter were the main articles of living all cooked and served by the new wife. No hired girls, no boarding house life then, as is so general now. Husband and wife both joined at once in bread winning, left no fear of the wolf of want. Health and happiness crowned the parentage and frequent use of the sugar trough cradle won the highest position ever attained by man and woman, makers of a virtuous, happy home; helpers to make a patriotic nation. The sugar trough was fashion's baby home then."

Like Esau, the pioneers were men of the field, living in the open; they were strong rugged men, who wrung the sustenance of life from nature's rugged hand and Mr. Haines was no exception to the rule.

Of hunting he has written:

"The hunting passion, if I may dignify this appetite or desire with so strong a name, is greatly fanned and excited by environment and stimulating effects of weather, atmospheric forces and landscape surroundings, charms and fitness. The landscape and forest charms of our country have been greatly, and to me, disagreeably changed since the hunting days of which I write. Indeed, scarcely a neighborhood once clothed with forest trees, greatly enhancing its beauty and charm, that has not been much, if not entirely denuded of this leading feature of attractiveness and delight. The grand old native forest trees, the lordly ornaments and seeming guardians as well of hill and valley, ravine and bottom lands of all our rivers, creeks and streams, had the effect on eye and appreciation of early pioneers of very appropriate and royal drapery for our beautiful land."

On another occasion he gives this vivid picture:

* * * * * * * * * * *

"Boy of only five years old then. I well remember the first wild deer brought into camp for food! It was a fine fat buck of four prongs.

Camp had been made and November twilight was gathering fast, but rashers of venison from that buck's saddle soon smoked and sputtered on the coals, and joined their appetizing odors with the boiling coffee pot, and the feast that followed in that forest bivouac far out-ranked in joy and gladness, Belshazzar's royal banquet, and no fateful handwriting marred its progress or paralyzed all guests with fear at its conclusion."

He was a poet as well as a hunter; we quote the following verses from a hunting song of his pen, in 1854, when he was twenty-three years of age:

"Let others join the giddy dance
And pour the flashing wine,
That lends to beauty's luring glance
A lustre half divine;
Then let them sing their sweetest song
And wake the harpstrings too—
I'll sing my song, not half so long,
Give me my rifle true.

Let others feast on smiles they win,
From lips as roses sweet,
While ev'ry thought that flows within
With vanity's replete;
To them be given these conquests fair,
For which they sigh and sue,
My simpler care, I thus declare—
Give me my rifle true."

Mr. Haines' education was obtained before the advent of the free school system. He attended a "pay school" taught by Mrs. William Gosforth, located in a log cabin on what was afterwards known as the Walker farm, situated about four miles south of Pekin. When older he taught a like school in the same neighborhood. Later he attended the law department of Transylvania University at Lexington, Kentucky. He was graduated from that institution with the degree of Bachelor of Civil Law, March 1, 1849, when in his twenty-seventh year.

He did not always remain too young to take advantage of the sparking opportunities of the country that he has so graphically described, for the records show that he was married in Tazewell County, October 24, 1850 to Anna E. Maus by S. V. E. Westfall, minister of the gospel.

From his marriage until his death, he resided in the city of Pekin. His home throughout the active years of his life, was known far and wide for its lavish hospitality and the genial social qualities of its head.

On February 2, 1849, the Legislature of Illinois passed an act providing for an election to finally settle the county seat contest in Tazewell County. In the event that the electors voted to remove the seat of government from Tremont to the town of Pekin, the act provided that Thompson I. S. Flint, David Mark, William Maus, Thomas N. Gill and James Harris (Haines) be appointed commissioners to provide the means to erect and to superintend the erection of the court house at Pekin.

The printed act as well as the original draft, states that the fifth commissioner's name was James Harris. The commissioners were all residents of the town of Pekin. The evidence is abundant that James Haines acted on that commission. No James Harris was a resident of the town of Pekin at that time. The conclusion is inevitable that the name "Harris" written in the original act was an error on the part of the scrivenor of the original act and the intent was to write James Haines; however, that may be, the public square in the town of Pekin was procured and the house completed in July, 1850, before the public printer of that primitive day, put the act in print and the error was not discovered until it was too late.

Commissioner James Haines on behalf of the commission procured Judge David Davis to come to Pekin in July, 1850 and approve the new court house and accept it on behalf of Tazewell County, as provided by the act under which it had been built.

Commissioner Haines has written of himself concerning this event:

"I was probably the happiest man in the great northwest the day of its acceptance and occupation as the seat of Justice for Tazewell County, Illinois."

This was the building that stood on the square for sixty-five years and was the seat of justice for this people. The structure that meant so much to us, who have spent the greater part of our lives, ministering in its courts, the temple that meant so much to our brethern, who have preceded us. From its portals have gone out great senators of the United States, a great chief justice of the greatest tribunal of the modern world; a great president, who became a martyr to the supreme cause of liberty, orators and soldiers of national fame, and a host of men of lesser note, who have the profession which we love and to which we have devoted our lives.

It is fitting then at the passing of the "old court house" and at the threshhold of the dedication of the new, we memoralize and do honor to the name and fame of this pioneer lawyer.

Among his professional associates of that early day were such men as Lincoln, Davis, Edwards, Stuart, Ficklin, Browning, Williams, Purple, Manning, Merriman, Dickey, Douglas, Baker, Ford, Prettyman, and a long list, fast fading from memory and love of all who knew them; for the name and fame of the lawyer, who has not political prominence is written on the sands and the waves of a new generation soon erase them.

In his professional work, Mr. Haines on occasion had the assistance of Mr. Lincoln in the trial of cases and he took great pleasure in recounting the kindness and professional courtesies extended to him by the great leader of the early Illinois Bar.

In the late fifties, he gave up the practice of his profession, and for a time was connected with the banking firm of G. H. Rupert & Co.

In 1861, he was engaged in a general insurance business in this city and for many years conducted the most extensive line of insurance underwriting in this part of the State. Before the office of county school superintendent of schools was created, he served a term as county commis-

sioner, succeeding Lemuel Allen. He was for a long period school treasurer, was also member of the school board of the city of Pekin and a member of the building committee that had charge of the erection of the first high school in this city, which was since destroyed by fire; he also served as president of the Old Settlers' Association and was an influential member of the State Historical Society and by his wide reading, literary ability and intimate personal acquaintance with the early growth of this section, has rendered his state and generation, a great service as historian. As a lawyer, citizen and business man, he occupied an unique place, he spanned two centuries and in life, memory and public service united them; his life represented the old and the new; the primitive and the complex; the past and the present; he was the last survivor of his kind, a representative of that race of hardy pioneers, who brought civilization to the Valley of the Illinois; and who lived to see its fruitage even to the full corn in the ear.

"Then let me sing of the pioneer,
The hero hardy and strong,
Who "blazed the way," for better days,
When the road was dark and long;
I hear em' 'en now, the woodman's stroke,
As it echoes along the years,
And hear again the crashing oak,
And the shout of the pioneers.

They were heralds of a better time,
These men who went before,
For they wrought for coming ages,
In the brave days of yore;
Though hands were hard and calloused,
And cheeks were brown with tan,
They knew each drop on the wrinkled brow,
Was the sweat of an honest man.

And thus it is in every cause,
Which lifts aloft the rights of man,
Some one must travel on before
Some one march in the van;
And every sacred, God-born truth
Which to this world hath come,
Hath had its sturdy pioneers
Who bore the torch of faith alone."

* * * * * * * * * * *

He came to his grave
in a full age;
Like as a shock of grain
coming to its season.

May it please the court on behalf of the Bar of Tazewell County, we move you that this memorial be spread at large upon the records of this court; that properly engrossed copies thereof be delivered to James

Haines, Jr., the only surviving member of the family of our fellow, The Tazewell County Historical Society, and the Historical Society of the State of Illinois.

W. R. Curran
William A. Potts
Ralph Dempsey
Committee.

Pekin, Illinois, June 20, 1916.
Walter L. Ferris, D. D.

PART II

Papers Read at the Annual Meeting

1917

CONTEMPORARY VANDALISM.

(Address delivered by Jenkin Lloyd Jones at the Annual Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Illinois, May 10, 1917.)

Scientists have taxed their ingenuity to reconstruct prehistoric animals from a few broken bones and obscure footprints in the rocks. From meager skeletons found in far away quarries they have reconstructed three-toed and two-toed horses on their way to the present one-toed pet of the household. But their best efforts in the way of skeleton building are unattractive enough, because all the vital parts which gave life, and probably grace of motion and beauty of form, perished with the life of the animal. Could we discover a living primordial horse he would perhaps be a sleek, short-haired, smooth little pet, or possibly a long haired, ungracious little creature about the size of a sheep, but there are none of them left to prove the surmise correct.

Much that we call history is simply a collection of bones without flesh or the charm that belongs to life, because that which covered the bones with life was allowed to perish, largely through the ignorance and stolidity of their contemporaries.

"Alas for the nation that forgets its annals!"

There is a vandalism that wantonly devastates the sanctities of life by fire and sword through a violence born of hatred. This vandalism destroys the records that would make beautiful the skeletons of history and alive the dead bones which alone survive the wreckage of time.

But there is a vandalism, scarcely less destructive and quite as regrettable, perpetrated by ignorance. The records are often allowed to perish through sheer stupidity and it is this vandalism that I shall inadequately discuss on this significant occasion and in this opportune presence.

The ignorant soldier preserved the pretty box but threw away the jewel it was made to contain as being only a useless and uninteresting stone. So the vandalism of ignorance neglects and misuses the most precious experiences of life; it desecrates by neglect the holiest sanctities of the race.

The intelligent American tourist in Europe arranges his itinerary so that it reaches from cathedral to cathedral, from deserted cloister to hoary minster. Europe's ruined abbeys and wrecked cathedrals offer the best keys with which to unlock the mysteries of the centuries, the best helps to realize the poverty and crudeness of our bumptious present. Such a traveler, having been moved by the sublime ruins of

Glastonbury and grieved over the wreckage of its noble arches and broken traceries, walks or rides over a beautiful macadam road to Wells, ten or twelve miles distant, to study another achievement of the cathedral builders. But he is shocked to learn that the road over which he came has been paved with the crushed rock taken from the splendid cathedral that offers the matchless ruin of all England, whether it be judged by its architectural or by its literary interest.

So here in our Democratic America we pave the highways which lead from the farm to the nearest railroad station with life's forgotten traditions, abandoned sanctities and crushed lives.

Buildings for the accomodation of the territorial legislators and Supreme Court officials for the territory of Wisconsin were framed in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, complete in every detail, and shipped in a "knock-down" condition down the Ohio River to Cairo, re-shipped up the Mississippi to Galena, then all across the country by ox teams some sixty miles to Belmont, the original territorial capital. When some years ago, a party of us visited the abandoned and practically forgotten shrine, we found that, in spite of Wisconsin's boasted university, historical society and State Normal Schools in the near neigborhood, these most interesting mementoes had been abandoned, and pitiably neglected, were practically forgotten relics of an ancient regime. The State House had been converted into a barn; it reeked with the filth of pigsties and neglected cow stalls. The Supreme Court building had become from careless vandalism an unkempt farmer's home, though the stately folding doors that once separated the court room from the jury room still preserved the dignity of design and delicacy of execution befitting the original purpose and witnessed to the skillful handwork of some forgotten craftsman. In all of Wisconsin boastful, as it may well be of its academic acquirements, its university graduates, its heroic traditions and its record for patriotism, there is not left reverence enough to preserve for future generations this beautiful and impressive civic shrine, witnessing to so much frontier heroism, clothed with the tenderness, and pathos of pioneer life.

Emerson and Carlyle once sat down in the shade of the mystic stonehenge, that marvelous relic which antedates all English history and is an awesome survival of an ancient faith unstudied and an ancestry untold, and they marveled at "the whimsicality of English scholarship that uncovers Ninevehs but leaves its own *Cor Gaur* to the rabbits," and there they communed over the flight of ages and the succession of races.

Chicago has one clear martyr story in its traditions; that of the young and gallant Lieutenant Wells who sacrificed his life in trying to save the lives of women and children in the Fort Dearborn massacre. The early surveyors of the city of Chicago most fittingly dedicated one of the longest streets of that city to the memory of Lieutenant Wells. Later the greed and vice of a growing city took such possession of that street that the cupidity of real estate men, seeking to rescue their property from the reproach brought upon it by this degradation, succeeded in changing the name of the street, instead of applying themselves to the purging of it from its degradation. So now we have a "Fifth

Avenue" where once there was a Wells Street. The name witnesses to the vandalism of greedy ignorance, to a crass reverence for the eagle stamped in gold. The timely interference of the Chicago Historical Society has probably put a stop to the further vandalism that would extend the name of Fifth Avenue to the unspoiled section of the street. But history may have to wait for the movement of a more intelligent generation before the entire street adjoining Chicago's Rialto, is restored to the memory of the gallant young officer who so valiantly laid down his life that others might be saved.

The plot of any city in Illinois, even the map of the State itself, reeks with such infidelities. Precious landmarks have been steam-rollered out of recognition. Let one illustration suffice.

"Turners' Corners" was once a famous landmark, a haven of rest on the main traveled road from Galena to Chicago, here the prairie schooners anchored over night for rest and refreshment. The railroad came and made a "Turner Junction" out of Turners' Corners. Then the real estate man came, and lo; the name of the hospitable Turner is wiped off the map, and we now have a "West Chicago," some thirty miles away, skipping across half a dozen other municipal or village organizations. The change was made in the interest of a prosperity which let us be thankful to say, is not served in the long run by such superficial tricks. There is much in a name, but not much that is desirable in the vocabulary of illiterate greed.

"Words," says Emerson, "are frozen pictures," and names are living things charged with romance, philosophy and religion in the vocabulary of the historian.

One more illustration. A few years ago in the neighborhood of my summer home there was left a solitary forty acres of primeval forest. Through the freakish whim of an old bachelor, this lone forty acres in all the county had never been disturbed by the woodsman's axe. On it great ancestral white oaks spread their over-shadowing limbs where once the red man pitched his wigwam. Here the pioneer emigrant bivouacked, and where more recently the youths of that country side picnicked, quite unconscious that a part of their exhilaration was traceable to the sublimity of that untampered forest. Some of us tried to save that lone spot from the vandalism of "business." Hoping to consecrate it forever to thought, rest, recreation and fellowship. A few women bravely sallies forth to save the Rock Hill oaks, by deeding the forty acres to the town that it might be saved for a benignant perpetual picnic ground. The subscription halted only about two hundred dollars short of success, when two sturdy Scandinavian youths, worthy successors of the Vikings, secured possession and by one winter's chopping with their sharpened axes, converted the splendid grove which it had taken nature centuries to produce into railroad ties and cord wood. And now there is left only a rough little field, one of the many in that county, yielding to the alternation of corn and pasture, its value measured by the pigs and milk checks produced thereon. I am not indifferent to the Illinois procession of cows and pigs, more cows that there may be more pigs, and again more cows and pigs, but this is the time and the

place to plead for the higher sanctities, to guard the intangible wealth, to cherish the traditions and preserve the accumulations of the spirit.

The lesson I am groping for in this lecture is most impressively taught by the pathetic neglect, the tragic vandalism in regard to the human background, the historic foundations of Illinois' greatest asset, the sublime traditions and world enriching achievements of its Abraham Lincoln.

Just where nature opened a gate discovered by Daniel Boone in the Appalachian range of mountains, the strategic point through which the pioneer life of Virginia and the Carolinas found its way into Kentucky and Tennessee, the Daughters of the Revolution have caused a foundation to be laid in solid stone and cement which they called the "Daniel Boone Monument." Some day, when prosperity justifies, these women hope to place upon this masonry a fitting bronze effigy of the doughty path-finder who led the way for the Lincolns and Hankses, the Hardins and the rest of them. That monument stands at the point where the three great states, Tennessee, Virginia and Kentucky meet and the foundations of a great Lincoln Memorial University have been well laid within sight of this suggestive landmark.

Thus far the people of Illinois and of Indiana and Kentucky, states that share with Illinois the glory of being the early home of the Greatest American have reversed the method of the Revolutionary dames of Virginia. We have been busy shaping the Lincoln statue while we have been stupidly neglecting its historic base. The statue so far constructed has found no adequate historical foundation upon which to rest. It will be a growing scandal in American history if the constituency you represent here does not take prompt steps to do everything possible to ameliorate the contemporary vandalism which has allowed the tender traditions of Lincoln's immediate fore-elders and his own early childhood to pass out of the reach of recorded history. Had his contemporaries and his immediate successors eyes only for the coarser material? Were they blind to the humbler loyalties and the finer courtesies in the home and neighborhood in which the great soul was cradled? Had they ears only for the idle gossip and flippant scandal incident to the vulgarities of the political stump and partisan slanders? Could they not catch the prophecy, the hint of the man's aspirations, the prophetic insight displayed in his earlier utterances mid the cramped conditions of his pioneer childhood?

There is nothing more unkind and cruel in American history than the flippant way in which the forebears of the great President have been dismissed as unimportant and uninteresting. The superficial insinuations of the American stump, the uncritical acceptance of the popular gossip born out of ignorance, have left the names of Thomas, Nancy and Sarah Bush Lincoln the most neglected and underestimated names in American history.

The poetic flight of Lowell has been accepted as literal history. Said he in the Commemoration ode:

For him her Old-World moulds aside she threw,
And choosing sweet clay from the breast
Of the unexhausted West,
With stuff unstained shaped a hero new,
Wise, steadfast in the strength of God, and true.

This happy phrase of the poet's fancy seems to have satisfied the unpoetic mind as historic accuracy, and the earlier biographers of Lincoln reveled in the fancy that their hero was made all the more heroic by shrouding his antecedents in a mist of ignorance and uncertainty. Too long has Lincoln been taken as a sort of American Melchisedec, "Prince of righteousness and king of Salem, without father and mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days nor end of life, made like unto the Son of God, abiding a priest continually."

Lincoln himself, with becoming modesty, accepted the obscurity that belongs to common people in lieu of a pedigree more or less fictitious, an estimate rooted in graveyards. Lincoln died in the belief that all of his story was told in the one line of Grey's Elegy.

The short and simple annals of the poor.

"This is my life, it is all you or any one else can make of it," he said in the days of the early curiosity awakened by his first nomination. This evidences his humility and conscious loneliness, but we know now as he never could know, that his blood flowed down through noble lines from the best and noblest in New England, Pennsylvania and Virginia. We now know that if the great Emancipator was cast in a "new mould" as Lowell said, the material for the moulding was thoroughly fused in the seething caldron we call history. We now know that the blood of the Lincolns came down from those who gave its name to the proud shire of England. His name was found under the shadows of the flying buttresses of Norwich Cathedral, among the names of those who overflowed the jail and filled the Guild Hall because they would not accept the ritual prepared for them by the bishop. It reaches back to the people who pelted the tax collectors with stones and who finally, in order to escape an odious government, sailed away, two ship loads of them, in the "Rose" and the "John and Dorothy" from Yarmouth Bay, to anchor in due time off the New England coast and established the colony of Hingham. This was in 1646, only twenty-six years after the Mayflower had landed its load at Plymouth Rock.

Contemporary records show that lots were set off in the new village of Hingham for Thomas Lincoln the miller, Thomas Lincoln the weaver, Thomas Lincoln the cooper. Later there came another Thomas Lincoln, the husbandman and one year later, the lad Samuel a brother of Thomas the weaver having completed his apprenticeship in weaving, joined his father and together they began in America the great industry of the loom. The fourth son of this Samuel was Mordecai Lincoln, blacksmith. He married the daughter of Abraham Jones in the neighboring settlement of Hull. This prosperous blacksmith reared the first furnace in the new country and smelted the ore picked up in the marshes of Scituate. Two of the six children of this iron master, Mordecai II and Abraham, carried the business into New Jersey. Mordecai

pushed further and opened a furnace in Chester County, Pennsylvania. The records of 1725 tell his selling "mynes, minerals and forges." Mordecai II bequeathed his estate to the eldest son, John, "John Lincoln, Gentleman!" runs the probate record. Later we find this same John in Rockingham, Virginia. His will mentions five sons, the eldest of whom was another Abraham who married Mary Shipley, and Shipley is a name to conjure by in the history of North Carolina. They, with their three sons, Mordecia III, Joshua and Thomas, pushed over the mountains into Kentucky while it was still a part of Virginia. Like Abraham of old, this Abraham Lincoln moved westward as a man of wealth and power, with horses, cattle and household goods. He went with a land warrant for seventeen hundred acre for which he paid a hundred and sixty pounds current money. The surveys of at least two different plots of four hundred acres each are recorded in his name in the field books of Daniel Boone or his immediate deputies. Subsequently this pioneer, notable even without the reflected glory of his great namesake was felled by a bullet form a treacherous Indian rival and his little ten-year-old boy Thomas, who witnessed the shooting absolutely disappears from our books and our traditions until he appears again as the bridegroom of the bright eyed, sweet tempered and pretty faced Nancy Hanks. Even the later lives of Lincoln too often reiterate the old groundless scandals of illegitimacy and uncertainties of births and marriages, which has been absolutely denied by the most conclusive documentary evidence. Perhaps through the apathy of ignorance and the contemporary vandalism springing therefrom, this cloud of obscurity and distrust has hung most heavily over the name of Nancy Hanks, a name that is the most cruelly neglected name in American history.

The recovery of the story of Nancy Hanks brings bright laurels to the brows of the two or three women who have broken through the ignorance and established the truth concerning the "little mother."

Hanks, like Lincoln, is not a name to be ashamed of. I am glad that the greatest American wasted no time in pedigree hunting. Ancestry is poor capital to do business on in a republic. Life is too short for most of us to waste on genealogies, but history loves justice, and ancestry, like posterity, has its rights. The little mother, who at thirty-five years of age laid her dying hand upon the head of little Abraham in the backwoods of Indiana, bore a name that has been traced across the seas, back to the time of Alfred the Great, when two brothers named Hanks received the "Commoner's Rights in Malmersbury." The name of Athelston, grandson of Alfred, is on the deed. Thomas Hanks, a descendant, of one of the brothers was a soldier under Cromwell, and his grandson, Benjamin Hanks sailed from London to Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1699, only fifty-three years after the landing of the first Lincolns at Hingham. This Benjamin Hanks was the father of twelve children, the third of whom, was William, who moved to Pennsylvania. His son, John Hanks, married Sarah, a daughter of Cadwallader Evans and Sarah Morris Welsh, quakers. The record runs, "John Hanks, yeoman, Sarah Evans, a spinster." A grandchild of this union was a Joseph Hanks, who was borne southward with the tide of emigration largely headed by Daniel Boone, whose blood is intermingled with that of the Shipleys, Lincolns and Hankses. Joseph Hanks joined the pro-

cession across the mountains. He had herds of cattle and horses. He bought a hundred and sixty acres of land near Elizabethtown in Kentucky. The youngest of his eight children was little Nancy, who was five years of age when she crossed the mountains. There were four years of home-making in the wilderness and there the father left the nine-year old little girl an orphan. His will is preserved and has been reproduced in the later Lincoln books. His simple, but for those days ample, estate was carefully divided among the children. The will provided that a sorrel horse, "Major," should go to Joseph, the roan horse to Charles, one heifer to Elizabeth and "To my daughter Nancy, one heifer yearling, called "Peidy." This was her dowry. When next we meet her she is the bride of Thomas Lincoln at an imposing wedding with its "infair" at the home of her prosperous uncle and foster father, Richard Berry.

This is not the time or the place to tell the story, of these beloved men and women in American history. But it is the time and the place to show that the dearth of knowledge about the forebears and kindred of Abraham Lincoln ought to arouse us to the belated task of doing what can be done towards completing the solid base that is to serve as an adequate foundation to the Lincoln Memorial.

The Hanks have been famous bell manufacturers. The first bell and the first tower clock constructed in America as well as the bell that replaced the old Liberty Bell in Philadelphia, and the Columbian Liberty bell made for the Columbian Exposition of 1893, were cast by members of the Hanks family. The first American silk mill was built by a Hanks. The founder of the first American bank note company was a Hanks. "Hanksite" is the name of a mineral named after the discoverer, the state mineralogist of California.

What has become of the other Lincolns and the other Hankses? Abraham Lincoln the Great used to say playfully that "Uncle Mordecai got away with most of the brains of the family." Tradition says he was prominent among the state makers of Tennessee. What was his story, What has become of his descendants? What has become of Uncle Joseph Hanks and his kindred? There were brothers, sisters, cousins, and, ultimately, nephews and nieces to Nancy Hanks. What is their story? Illinois and Indiana have had a commission at work, trying to trace the probable route traveled by this American Odysseus from Gentryville, Indiana, into Coles County, Illinois. A great highway is being built which will soon invite flying pilgrims in horseless wagons over the route once traveled by the Lincoln party through the bridgeless country with a four-ox team and an iron wagon. The family group is said to have consisted of thirteen. Have the thirteen ever been identified, and has their story ever been traced?

In the fall of 1908, the semi-centennial year of the Lincoln-Douglas debate, it was my privilege to deliver the historical address at Charleston, Illinois. We sought at that time in the unkempt corner of a neglected and ancient graveyard on the border of the town a grave well nigh forgotten and practically lost. We tore away the brambles and high tangled grass until our hands were bleeding, and there half buried in leaf mould we discovered a little scroll marker, such as it put over babies'

graves, bearing the inscription, "Dennis Hanks, Tutor of the martyred President."

My guide to this place was a woman, then a recent arrival in the State of Illinois. Perhaps there were very few citizens in that city who could locate the grave, although a descendant of Dennis was, I believe at that time postmaster of Charleston. Where is the grave of John Hanks, the other cousin who joined with Abraham in the cabin building, rail splitting and flat-boat sailing?

During the visit to Charleston already mentioned Doctor Lord, President of the State Normal School of Charleston, husband of the one who re-discovered for me the grave of Dennis Hanks, led a party to the grave of Thomas Lincoln the father, some fifteen miles from the county seat of Coles County. A few weeks ago I stood for the second time in the little Shiloh grave yard, beside the humble shaft already chipped by vandal hands, which marks the grave of Thomas Lincoln the father. Near by was a small boulder, the only mark for the resting place of Sarah Bush Lincoln, the blessed stepmother who triumphantly refuted the cruel slander so often current concerning this high office. The little stone was placed there by Mrs. Susan Rodger Baker, of Janesville, Illinois, the devoted neighbor, now feeble and aged, who is tireless in her efforts to remove from Illinois the scandal of this neglect. From her I secured the information, which I could find in none of the books, that Sarah Bush Lincoln was born December 13, 1788, and that she died on the old farm in her ninetieth year, that aside from the Springfield homestead was the only land Lincoln ever owned, and this he secured for the use of his father and blessed foster mother. This venerable and patriotic sister, has written me at my request since my visit, saying:

"The first time I saw her she was dressed in black and wore a small shoulder cape. It was at Charleston, Illinois, September 18, 1858. That day I saw her lean her head on Abe's breast and I heard her say, 'I always knew that Abe would be president.' I suspect she was the first to make that assertion. She was called good and kind and was always loved and respected by all who knew her. The last bread she ever ate was baked by Elsa Price Anderson, the grandmother of Marvel L. Baker, who placed the flowers you will receive under separate cover, on Sarah Lincoln's grave Easter Sunday.

Lincoln gave her a wool shawl and folded her in his arms as he placed it around her shoulders the last time he visited her on his way to the presidency.

Thomas Lincoln was honest, kind, a great friend to children. He was loved and respected, could write a plain hand. Some of his handwriting was in the care of our family for more than fifty years."

This contemporary vandalism, this neglect of our most sacred annals, was again made vivid and painful to me this very day when, in your own beautiful cemetery, I sought the grave of one who for sixteen years shared the professional confidences of the great President, his law partner, his first and most intimate biographer, albeit, too close, perhaps I might say too loyal and loving, to establish the proper perspective. To my great surprise I had great difficulty in locating the grave of William Herndon. The curator of the Lincoln monument was not only

ignorant of the location of the grave but was apparently uninformed concerning the man who was very much alive on the streets of Springfield throughout a long lifetime. Three or four of the cemetery caretakers, whose business it is to keep the walks and graves in repair, knew of several Herndon graves but could not differentiate among them. I accosted several visitors on the ground, two or three of them residents of Springfield, and they had no knowledge of the location of the grave. The superintendent of the ground himself had to resort to his record, and succeeded in finding the name by guessing at the year in which Herndon died and running down the column. When at last the lot was located and an office assistant directed me to the grave we found a humble stone marking the resting place of Mary Herndon his first wife. By its side were two unmarked graves and my guide was still unable to decide which of them contained the bones of him to whom the President Elect on the day before his sad departure from Springfield, said:

"Billy, how long have we been together?"

"Over sixteen years."

"We've never had a cross word during all that time, have we?"

"No, indeed we have not."

"Let the old sign hang there undisturbed. I am sick of office-holding already. I shudder when I think of the tasks that are still ahead. Give our clients to understand that the election of a President makes no change in the firm of Lincoln and Herndon. If I live I'm coming back some time, and then we'll go right on practising law as if nothing had ever happened."

The grave of this friend of Lincoln's is not only unmarked but unhonored and almost unlocated in your own beautiful cemetery.*

During my recent birthday visit to the Lincoln Memorial University at Cumberland Gap, Tennessee, I met a kinswoman of Nancy Hanks, one who has been trying to trace out the family traditions in Kentucky. She has located the Berry House where the marriage of Nancy Hanks took place, a structure that still retains a degree of loghouse stateliness, albeit, now used as a hay loft. When seeking the records at the county seat the thrifty registrar informed her that he had not long before given a "lot of old records, no longer worth anything," to a colored man with instructions to burn them. She sought and found the colored man and he remembered having noticed that there was a lot of "mighty good paper" in the junk and that instead of burning it, he had used it to stop a washout under the fence. She sought the washout and actually unearthed from among the clay stained sheets a record showing that a certain Thomas Lincoln paid a poll tax of $1.00 in a certain township, on a certain date.

During my Coles County visit already referred to, I stopped a moment at the house which is the successor to the old Thomas Lincoln home situated on the original Abraham Lincoln land before mentioned. I found it occupied by a stalwart farm woman, still a representative of the family, who was full of pent up lore concerning the much beloved "Grandma Lincoln." But I had no time to mine the fertile brain and heart of

*A modest stone was erected by the Herndon family and a monument to William H. Herndon has been erected in Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, by his friends, and will be unveiled March 18, 1918.

this kinswoman. She said she had a box full of interesting "photographs, pictures and things" pertaining to the Lincoln family, but they were nailed up under the bed and were not to be seen. Does not this box come within the assets of the Illinois Historical Society?

The other day I received a letter from a lady in Chicago saying:

I have in my possession a very rare treasure in the way of a picture, which I do not think can be duplicated. It is a fine picture of Lincoln's first home in Illinois, in front of which stand John and Dennis Hanks in their hunting suits. There is a little description under the picture relative to the view, making it still more interesting. * * * We have had the picture for more than forty years. I am not particularly anxious to part with it, but we are breaking up our home and there is no one except myself to enjoy to. I would like to feel that it is giving pleasure in the future as it has in the past."

I wonder if there is not something here for this society to look into!

I wonder if this learned society is acquainted with the story of the Thomas Lincoln Monument? I am told by Mrs. Baker of Janesville, Illinois that G. B. Balch, a rural poet of that country side, gave public readings from his own poetry in Charleston, and the proceeds started the fund with which to buy a marker for the grave of the father of the great President. The fund was financially reinforced, I believe, by a contribution from the grandson, Robert Lincoln. The little shaft was erected at the cost of one hundred and twenty-five dollars, and the frugal Mrs. Baker remarked that it could now be bought to-day for fifty dollars.

In 1908, Eugene W. Chafin, noted as a prohibition leader, lecturing in that neighborhood was touched by the neglect of Sarah Bush Lincoln's grave and tried to lift that reproach from the State of Illinois. He started a fund for the purchase of an adequate marker. A beginning was made and the result deposited in a Mattoon Bank under date of May 24, 1911. I have as yet been unable to locate either the bank or the fund. Mr. Chafin wrote to Mrs. Baker:

"Your letter received. I expect to be in Illinois in June or July and if I can manage my trip so that I can, I will go to Mattoon and give my lecture on Lincoln. We now have about $30 in the bank for the monument for Mrs. Thomas Lincoln. We ought to take in one-hundred at that lecture. Every cent taken in goes to this fund, I give the lecture and my expenses free.

Will write you as soon as I get a day off for this lecture."

Here the movement disappears so far as I am able to learn.

In 1913 W. T. Hollenbeck of Marshall, Illinois, wrote to Mrs. Baker:

"Replying to your card just received inquiring about H. B. No. 278 will say that same went along nicely and seemed that it would be enacted into law until the governor called on the chairman of the appropriation committee and told him that no monuments of any kind would be permitted this session and that if they were put up to him he would veto them, etc., and thus killed the bill which ought to have been put into law and a respectable monument erected at the grave of Thomas Lincoln."

Indiana seems to have been more appreciative of its sanctities than Illinois. One of the Studebaker brothers of South Bend rediscovered

the almost lost grave of Nancy Hanks and saved it for posterity with an adequate marker. Later the state reverently threw its paternal arms round her resting place and has made a state park of the beautiful cemetery near the railroad station known as "Lincoln City." A monument to the mother of Abraham Lincoln was erected, 1902, at this place, by Gen. J. S. Culver, of Springfield, Illinois, the contractor who rebuilt the Lincoln Monument at Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Illinois. The stone used in building the monument to Nancy Hanks Lincoln was taken from the monument erected to the memory of her illustrious son. Only last year Jesse W. Weik, of Greencastle, and Mr. Cravens, of Madison, Indiana, located the almost forgotten grave of Sarah Lincoln, the only sister of the President, and placed a fitting marker at its head. Her ashes rest not far from those of the little mother.

I plead with this society to lead in the movement that will not be permitted to cease until the sacred spots connected with the history of out great Prophet of Humanity are suitably located, guarded and given an adequate place in the knowledge and love of the children of our land throughout the coming generations.

I plead not for the dead; they wrought well and they rest from their labors. History will not neglect them, and I cannot believe that America will permit these shrines to be lost in utter forgetfulness, but I plead for an enlargement of the record, the rescuing of the unwritten history before it fades from the memories of the survivors and descendants. This task, which should be promptly converted into a privilege, rests with peculiar weight upon the states of Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois. There must be here treasures available to the gleaners of heavenly gossip when properly encouraged and wisely directed by such societies as the one which I now have the honor of addressing.

Abraham Lincoln was not a wondering star, a miracle, an unaccounting surprise, but he was such as might have been expected under the circumstances, properly understood. Far reaching forces culminated in this man. He was a representative of the times and life which he glorified, but he cannot be understood, much less duly appreciated, until the pioneer life, that splendid forerunner of civilization which changed the wilderness into homes, is understood.

Lincoln cannot be properly interpreted except in terms of the immigrant. The adequate base for the Lincoln statue must be built out of the traditions of the Lincolns, Hankses, and others of like potency by whom they were neighbored. The very democracy which Lincoln honored, the common people in whom he gloried, must enter into the story of this foundation. There is no vandalism more destructive of noble endeavor and high ideals than the stupid neglect or stolid contempt for the far-reaching, in-reaching and down-reaching democracy of this western world. The pioneer age is passing but the pioneer vitality woven of many strands, is still the hope of the country. I have no anxiety concerning the future appreciation and intelligence concerning the orator without peer, the advocate of high principles, the suffering President, the commander-in-chief of the noblest army ever marshalled. These are safe. Humanity will keep these records bright and will profit by these traditions. If this story has not already been adequately told, age by age will add to its interpretation and appreciation. But the Abraham

Lincoln of the backwoods, the Abraham Lincoln of the clearing, of the log house and the simple life connected therewith, is in danger of passing hopelessly beyond the reach of coming generations because of the contemporary vandalism that is indifferent to the splendid fabric, the tapestry of common life, whose written history thus far is but the bony skeleton of what was once a living creature. The victims of affluence and of the indolence and indulgence that goes with it can never understand the life that penetrated these western states. The complacency of the sterile graduations in too many of our prosperous high schools and colleges can never understand the possibilities of the devout life, of the tender, truth-seeking, poetry loving intelligence that was fostered in log schoolhouses and ripened in forest clearings and on prairie lonesomeness. It is difficult, if not impossible, for the children of the complicated luxury of to-day to disassociate these simplicities of the clearing from the alleged coarseness and profanity of the frontier.

Kentucky, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin and the other Middle Western states were not peopled with reckless adventurers but with devout, earnest homeseekers, who pushed westward, in search not of fortune but of homes. They sought places in which to raise families, they brought their wives and children along with them. To them the groves were indeed God's temples and often the voice of praise and prayer was heard under the trees. The hymn book and the Bible were part of the pioneer's outfit. Democracy with all that the word implies, was their inspiration. Unconsciously they were nation builders; coming presidents, senators, legislators, orators, editors, poets were their familiars. There came into this life whose history is still unwritten, the filtered blood of the Lincolns and the Hankses, the forbears of Lincoln, came and found neighbors worthy of them. They found congenial comradeship in the cooperative work of rearing homes, making roads, building bridges, constructing schoolhouses and organizing townships, counties and states.

Interpretations of this life can not be found in the encyclopedias or in books of history, but in the memories that happily are still carried by the living.

I trust you will pardon the apparent egotism that seeks, in my own memory, for side lights to illuminate the story of the pioneers among whom Abraham Lincoln found his early home. My life reaches beyond the seas. It began in a straw-thatched cottage in Wales where two thrifty brothers, hatters in winter time, tillers of a little tilth of ten acres in summer time, watching the western horizon, felt the new awakening, the onward urge of life that disturbed all Europe. In that cottage were a father and mother, the bachelor uncle, who was also associate father, and seven children. There was a comfortable living, congenial society, church and home to their liking and kindred reaching far and near. But to the expanding minds of the elders the happy life was a cramped one. "Establishments," "conventions," "crowns," "dukes," "bishops," and "creeds" were fetters to the mind, barriers to the affections. The "noble" and "peasant" *classes* were discounted by the songs and the prophecies, the preaching and the prayers that touched the soul housed in this little stone cottage. Beyond the seas were lands more ample, higher privileges and growing advantages for the children. The

social fabric was torn, the tendrils of the heart were rudely severed, the brave push was undertaken. Father, mother, and seven children faced the stormy Atlantic in a sailing vessel. The bachelor uncle had anticipated the trip; he had gone on a year ahead to spy out the land. After the ship had been at sea two weeks it was dismantled by a violent storm. With its mainmast gone it tacked back to Liverpool for repairs. The passage money had been paid, there was no refunding and duplication was impossible, so the family must live on shipboard for two weeks while in port for repairs. Then another start was made and when the brave little ship reached New York it was once more badly crippled and largely dismantled, and the voyage which would now be accomplished in six days had taken six weeks. The ultimate consolation that sustained this storm tossed group was the thought that they were all there, and that at the worst they would go down together and leave no grieving hearts behind.

The untoward delay, the autumn voyage, made the plunge into the western wilderness impossible for the season. The Erie Canal was frozen up. The party must lay over at Utica, or in that neighborhood, until spring opened the water communication. During this interruption the fairest of the flock, the golden-haired little three-year-old, was smitten with scarlet fever, and the little form was laid in an immigrant grave. The family life was softened, chastened, strengthened through all the following tempestuous years by the memory of that blossom that drooped, withered and fell by the wayside.

With the opening of the spring season the immigrant group resumed its journey by canal to Buffalo, then by boat to Milwaukee, and then came the quest for "government land." The two brothers, again united, green foreigners with an imperfect knowledge of English, traversed the broad prairies of southern Wisconsin and northern Illinois, depressed beyond measure by the sight of the vast expanse of desert lands that could not grow a horse switch. The prairies to them spelled desolation. After two week's wandering one hundred and twenty acres were secured at $1.20 per acre in the thickest woods of the Rock River bottom in Wisconsin, where great elms, oaks and basswoods towered and mingled their branches in such a way that it was necessary to fell a tree in order to catch a glimpse of the sky. These forests were creased with marshes, the fostering home of malaria, where lurked undiscovered miasma. When the land was paid for and a yoke of oxen and two cows purchased, there was left one solitary gold sovereign in the father's hand. There were six children to provide for, and no fields to plant, and it was too late in the season to plant if fields had been ready. The necessary logs for the house were felled, and a wide section must be compassed in order to find men enough for the raising. After the walls were up, an apprenticeship in American woodcraft must be served before they knew how to rive the shakes and make the shingles for the roof. For four months of the first summer the roof was of basswood bark, which kept out the sun but let in most of the rain.

Six miles away was the pioneer village gathered around the primitive water power. There was a saw mill and the country store, and the prospect of a grist mill. The father, with the one pioneer who had preceded him in that "settlement" who could act as an interpreter, sought

the proprietor of the saw mill and country store. The enterprising Yankee from "York State" after hearing the story of the brave venture, the large hopes, the gloomy outlook for the present, said: "Tell that Welshman to go back and go to chopping. Set the family to chopping. Let them chop and chop and chop, all summer and fall, make logs and more logs as I will direct and then when winter comes and the snow is deep enough they can haul logs on to the ice on Rock River, and when it breaks up in the spring the logs will float down to my mill and I will settle for them. Meanwhile tell him I will furnish him with flour and salt adequate to his needs. It may be corn meal part of the time but I will guarantee him bread enough and salt." The father returned light heartedly. Fortune had smiled on them, crowning good luck was theirs. The battle began bravely but the marshes bred mosquitoes, monstrous in size, fearful in number. Of course no one dreamed of the connection between mosquitoes and malaria, but everybody had the ague. Quinine, Indian colagogue, Wahoo bitters, prickly ash syrup, boneset tea, and again quinine and still more quinine became essential articles in the household economy.

The bachelor father-uncle found a job in another sawmill, deep in the forest. He was earning money to meet the other family necessaries. He slept in the mill and was taking his training in Americanism, but word came that he was ill. The next day the father brought back the little bundle of clothing with the boots tied on the outside; typhoid fever had done its work. Under a great tree on the wooded hill the father dug his brother's grave, and the little group of pioneers in the settlement gathered round it. The father who was ever a priest in his own household, read the Bible verses, led in singing the old Welsh hymns, and made the prayer that rang through the forest in such a way as to abide permanently in the memory of the little group present.

The battle went on. The six children in due time became ten. A schoolhouse was built of logs in the middle of the road because it was built before the road was there. We got there ahead of the surveyor. The schoolhouse became an academy where high questions were debated, great speeches recited, dramatic arts cultivated. Friday was "speaking day" and, at the end of each term at least there was the school exhibition. Those were the days of spelling schools, singing schools, debating and speaking and of contests with adjoining districts.

There came a time when the school board, heroically progressive, voted ten dollars for library purposes and the big brother who must needs go once a year to Milwaukee, forty miles away, with the ox team, a pig or two, and a few bushels of wheat, involving a trip of four or five days, brought back the few books for the "Public School Library." District No. 3." How well I remember that first short shelf of books—"The Story of the Great West," with red cover and gilt decorations, Paige's "Theory and Practice of Teaching," Goodrich's "History of Greece," and a book of Peter Parley's. These still remain in the memory as my introduction to literature. I left that log schoolhouse at twelve years of age, but the debate on "Which is the mightier, the pen or the sword?" laid the foundation with me of the fundamental arguments which have staid with me and fastened upon me for good or ill, but for aye, the name of Pacifist.

My first service to the community was to go on Saturday afternoon to fetch the weekly mail, two and a half miles distant. It was cow paths, log ways across the marshes, and dim wagon tracks the rest of the way. The postman generally travelled on horseback, the roads being too bad for wheels. It was a disappointment if I did not get there in time to welcome this doughty rider, a herald from the big world beyond us, and to note the throwing off of the mail bag on the porch of old Squire Smith's grocery. The contents were readily disposed of; a small bunch of letters, mostly from foreign parts, a few religious weeklies, a monthly or two, mostly in foreign tongues. One splendid solid roll fell with a thump on the floor, the last to be distributed. The old postmaster tore the wrapper with memorable dignity and distributed the contents. It was the New York *Tri*bune—a club of twenty. The responsibility of distributing three or four copies along the way home was mine. This *Tri*bune was college, opera, theatre, library, political platform, civil reformer, and to many, church and gospel. It was well nigh all things to all men, and well it might be, for it was in the days of Horace Greeley, at his best, Margaret Fuller, Emerson, Alcott, Bryant, Parkman, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Henry Thoreau, N. P. Willis and their great contemporaries, who were contributors. Without a doubt beyond the influences of the home fireside this *Tri*bune became the greatest influence in formulating the life of that countryside in training the community in statecraft.

Among my earliest memories is that of a bright Monday morning when we were startled beyond measure by what seemed to be an army of men mowing a wide swath through the forest on the hill above our home. They came unheralded and unexpected; they were the makers of a plank road from Milwaukee to Watertown, a stretch of forty-five miles. The logs chopped off the right of way were to be sawed into planks or turned into charcoal to make the roadbed which was to be maintained by a revenue collected at the toll gates. Thus was the great world coming still nearer. This plank road put us on the front street of civilization. Some years afterwards I was permitted to go with the big brother and the ox team six miles away to see and to hear with distress the locomotive engine the railroad was coming our way. It passed by our dooryard. Finally the log house as well as the log schoolhouse were left behind. The little family, storm tossed on the sailing ship, brought with it the fate which now is passing into the fourth generation, representing a totality of eighty souls. Eight or more of them have won diplomas and become "graduates" of colleges or their equivalents. They are scattered through eight or ten states. They are farmers, teachers, editors, preachers. They are citizens of the United States in the full meaning of that term.

Now this brief study of a log house settlement would be far fetched and obtrusive were it not typical. It is a story that can be duplicated all the way from Kentucky to Minnesota. It suggests the fertile home soil which was enriched by the Hankses and the Lincolns who came before Nancy and Abraham.

There is another connection too much neglected, almost forgotten. This Welsh family, the forerunner of a Welsh settlement, was joined on three sides by German, Norwegian and Irish settlements, and all these

settlements centered in the ballot box. There were Catholics and Protestants, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Methodists. Unitarians, Universalists and "Infidels" who met in the log schoolhouse and not infrequently joined in common worship. Whigs, Democrats, Free-soilers, Abolitionists and Prohibitionists spelled each other down, rivaled each other on "speaking days" and entered into the warp and woof that formed the enduring fabric of the new state. Here was a complexity becoming homogeneous, coordinating and cooperating into a simple and enduring unity. The shrewd man from "York State," the school ma'am from "down east," alternating as the seasons came and went with the inevitable school-master fresh from Ireland, the wood-chopper from Norway, the peasant from Germany, all grew to be one people and Abraham Lincoln, escaping from slave bound Kentucky, through Indiana, into Illinois, rose through this diversity to become the "First American."

This most stimulating of environments, making common cause with the splendid heredity, could not fail to produce great men. For Abraham Lincoln did not stand alone. There were giants in those days on every hand, as every student of Illinois history knows. Leonard Swett, Isaac N. Arnold, David Davis, Stephen A. Douglas, Norman B. Judd, Elijah P. Lovejoy, John M. Palmer, Richard Yates, Joshua Speed, Lyman Trumbull, the Rankins, the Bowling Green family and the Rutledges were neighbors of Lincoln, his comrades and supporters. All of these were splendid foothills reaching up to the mountain peak. In every great mountain range there is somewhere the highest peak and in this range the white-capped Lincoln peak has achieved the most heavenly altitude. These pedigrees reach back through New England to the land beyond the seas but they reach forward to the "unexhausted West" where nature

> With stuff untainted shaped a hero new,
> Wise, steadfast in the strength of God, and true.

This is why I plead for more reverence for contemporary sanctities, for a higher regard for history in the present tense, more vigilance on your part and mine to cherish these annals, protect these traditions, guard these sanctities.

The loom of history never ceases, its shuttle flies incessantly, the heroic in the history of Illinois did not begin in '61, but it has continued through the war and beyond. Its farmer boys, village lads and college students had but a little way to go when they passed from independent voters to unflinching soldiers. The hopeful complexity of our state continues and my own memory refuses even to paragraph the story. The internationalism that centered in the log schoolhouse continued in the Sixth Wisconsin Battery with its Irish captain, its German lieutenant, its English orderly, its Polish sergeant, its complement of French, Scandinavian, Welsh and the beyond, with just enough American born to cement them into a harmonious and patriotic whole. In spite of this diversity, nay, on account of it, it was a homogeneous company whose every member was a glad and willing American, though a call of the roll of nations would have been proudly responded to and any implication of antagonism of interest or degrees of loyalty would have been promptly resented.

Friends, President Lincoln himself was no finality, he was a passenger in the ship of state, a member, albeit for a time a leader in the marching columns of democracy. He misses the benediction who camps at the foot of Lincoln's tomb. They find him not who hang around his bronze effigy. Lincoln began a work which is yet to be completed; the reinforcements he early foresaw are sweeping into line; in Illinois they form a splendid part of the advancing column.

One of the most inspiring and sadly neglected stories of the making of our nation is that of the expedition of Lewis and Clark, the great path-finders to beyond the Rockies. I fear the story is neglected because it is a bloodless story, and under-estimated because it was a triumph of mind and not of brawn. During long stretches of that exploration a little Indian woman was the directing genius as the leaders have generously testified. Her knowledge of the wierd mountain fastnesses, her acquaintance with the subtle and suspicious red man, her familiarity with his speech and acquaintance with his paths enabled her with her papoose on her back to steer the white man's expedition to the unknown beyond. The heroic band finally camped thirty miles from the great beach. The thing was accomplished. The band rested while the leaders completed their notes and the tired pilgrims repaired their shoes and renewed their clothing. Only a few of the party were asked to accompany their leaders to the shore washed by the Pacific waves. They returned with tales of the boundless water, and of a great fish that was cast on the beach.

The men of the company were apparently satisfied to take up the long and formidable return march, but the little woman was not satisfied. She carried her plaint to the leaders, "I too have made the big march. I with you have climbed the high mountains until my feet were sore; I too have slept in the deep canyons when my heart was weary. I would like to see the big water and the great fish before I go back." The benignant leaders of the Pacific Expedition justified their adventurous spirit by recognizing the legitimacy of her plaint and they said: "Yea, verily Sacajawea, little Bird Woman, you should and may see the big water," and a special excursion was planned. This Bird Woman has found a monument in a bronze statue that decorates the state house square in Bismarck, North Dakota. Several years ago I faced a wintry blizzard in the interest of this memorial to celebrate the leadership of the women of North Dakota, worthy forerunners of the women leaders throughout the nation.

May this story of Sacajawea and her monument typify the new reverence that is to protect us from contemporary vandalism, that is to conserve the traditions of motherhood, make place in the annals at least of this great state of Illinois for the woman makers of our state, the home guardians of the primary sanctities of primitive religion, the fire-makers, the keepers of the hearthstone, the shepherds of little children, the mothers and foster-mothers of great thinkers, the valorous heroines of peace who are the representatives of the old but newly recognized patriotism that overlaps geographical lines and finds natural pride and loyalty in its fullness only in international love and brotherhood.

THE MOVEMENT OF THE POPULATION OF ILLINOIS, 1870-1910.

(By Ernest L. Bogart, University of Illinois.)

In the following pages I shall confine myself to one aspect only of the population question, namely, that of its movement. In a rapidly growing State like Illinois great changes have necessarily occurred. Not only have there been large additions through immigration, but the native born population within the State has been restless and shifting. We may therefore consider the movement of the population from the two standpoints of the foreign born and the native born.

I. MOVEMENT OF THE FOREIGN BORN POPULATION.

1. *Proportion of Native and Foreign Born.*

If the United States is the melting pot of the nationalities of the world, Illinois certainly does its share in the fusing process.

Illinois has always been a favorite resort of immigrants. Since 1870 it has ranked first in respect to the absolute number of foreign born in the north central division, though Minnesota, Wisconsin, and North Dakota have a larger proportion of foreign born. In the United States as a whole Illinois has been exceeded since 1870 only by New York and Pennsylvania in the total number of foreign born within the State. That they have not constituted a larger percentage in the population of the State is due to the equally rapid increase of the native population, which has kept the proportion very steady.

The proportion of the foreign born element in the population has remained fairly steady for the past forty years, at about 20 per cent of the total. The colored element has grown somewhat in strength, but has always been very small. There are 17 other states which have a larger proportion of foreign born, and 26 which have a larger percentage of negroes. But the problem of assimilating these alien elements is not measured merely by the number of the foreign born, for it usually takes more than one generation to fuse them thoroughly into the body of American citizens. If therefore we compare the proportion of those of foreign birth plus those persons, one or both of whose parents has been of foreign birth, and whose homes environment has therefore had a considerable foreign flavor, we shall have a truer index of the problem of assimilation laid upon the people of Illinois. Throughout all five decades the proportion of this alien element has been greater in Illinois than in the Union as a whole; and this would be true even if

to the foreign born and the native born with foreign or mixed parentage we add the colored. In 1870 the two groups of foreign born and native born with foreign or mixed parentage made up 59 per cent of the total population in Illinois as compared with 55 per cent for the whole country; in 1880 no comparison is possible as these statistics were not compiled by the census of that year; in 1890 the figures were respectively 50 per cent for Illinois and 45 per cent for the United States; in 1900 they were 54 and 46 per cent; and in 1910, 53 and 46 per cent.

The proportion was much higher in 1870 than in any subsequent period, as during the next two decades there was a considerable movement of the native born population into Illinois from states farther to the east. It reached the lowest point in 1890 and since that time has gradually increased again, though in 1910 it had not yet reached the proportion of 1870.

TABLE I—POPULATION OF ILLINOIS BY NATIVITY, 1870-1910. (See note below.)

Class.	1870			1880			1890		
	Number.	Per cent for Illinois.	Per cent for United States.	Number.	Per cent for Illinois.	Per cent for United States.	Number.	Per cent for Illinois.	Per cent for United States.
Aggregate	2,539,891	100	100	3,077,871	100	100	3,826,352	100	100
Native white	2,024,693	79.7	73.0	2,448,172	79.5	73.5	2,927,497	76.5	73.0
Native white, native parentage	1,038,658	40.9	44.7	(1)	(1)	(1)	1,882,693	49.2	54.8
Native white, foreign or mixed parentage	986,035	38.8	28.3	(1)	(1)	(1)	1,044,804	27.3	18.3
Foreign born white	515,198	20.3	14.4	582,979	18.9	13.1	840,975	22.0	14.5
Colored, Indian, Chinese, etc	[2] 28,992	[2] 1.1	12.6	46,720	1.6	13.4	57,880	1.5	12.5

[1] Distinctions of parentage were not made in the census of 1880.
[2] Distributed in groups above.

TABLE I—Concluded.

Class.	1900			1910		
	Number.	Per cent for Illinois.	Per cent for United States.	Number.	Per cent for Illinois.	Per cent for United States.
Aggregate	4,821,550	100	100	5,638,591	100	100
Native white	3,770,238	78.2	74.5	4,324,402	76.7	74.4
Native white, native parentage	2,271,765	47.1	53.9	2,600,555	46.1	53.8
Native white, foreign or mixed parentage	1,498,473	31.1	20.6	1,723,847	30.6	20.5
Foreign born, white	964,635	20.0	13.4	1,202,560	21.3	14.5
Colored, Indian, Chinese, etc	86,677	1.8	12.1	111,629	2.0	11.1

2. *Country of Origin of Foreign Born.*

We have no statistics of immigration into Illinois, so that our table of foreign born in Illinois merely shows the number of each nationality living in the State at the specified period. Unless death or

emigration removed those who were in the State in 1870, they would be added to the newcomers between 1870 and 1880, and so on, so that normally each successive census enumeration would show a larger number until the earliest immigrants began to die off. This process is beginning to show itself in the case of those nationalities which were already settled in the State in large numbers by 1870. Now, almost fifty years later, the earlier settlers are disappearing and the later immigrants are not coming in fast enough to maintain the group. Thus, the crest of the wave for British, Irish, and Germans was reached in 1890, since which date their numbers have been declining. Immigration is still large from the Scandinavian countries, and the number of persons of Scandinavian birth has increased steadily with each successive census, especially of those from Sweden. Immigration from the Latin countries has been very steady, except for the great increase in Italians in the last two decades. But the most striking and important change has been the enormous increase in the Slavic elements of our population. So rapid has been the immigration from Austria-Hungary and from Russia that it has brought with it new and difficult problems of assimilation and adjustment that were not presented in connection with the earlier immigration. These are particularly serious because the more recent immigration has coincided with a period of industrial development and of urban concentration, and has therefore resulted in a concentration of the newer comers in our cities, particularly in Chicago. Thus, while the proportion of the foreign born in the male population 21 years of age or over was 33.5 for Illinois in 1900, for Chicago it was 53.5, for Joliet, 49.8, and for Rockford 47.6.* The following table shows the country of origin of the foreign born population of Illinois for the last five census period.

TABLE II—FOREIGN BORN IN ILLINOIS BY NATIONALITY.

County of origin.	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Great Britain	192,960	75,859	95,113	88,775	85,176
Ireland		117,343	124,498	114,563	93,451
British America	32,550	34,043	39,525	50,595	45,233
Germany	203,758	235,786	338,382	332,169	319,182
Holland	4,180	5,012	8,762	21,916	14,402
Sweden	29,979	42,415	86,514	99,147	115,422
Norway	11,880	16,970	30,339	29,979	32,913
Denmark	3,711	6,029	12,044	15,686	17,368
France	10,911	8,524	8,540	7,787	7,966
Belgium	(1)	1,464	(1)	(1)	9,399
Switzerland	8,980	8,881	(1)	9,033	8,660
Italy	(1)	1,764	8,035	23,523	72,160
Austria	2,099	2,608	8,087	18,212	
Bohemia	7,350	13,408	26,627	38,570	163,020
Hungary	(1)	691	3,126	6,734	
Russia	(1)	1,276	8,407	28,707	149,016
Poland	(1)	6,962	28,878	67,949	
Others	6,840	4,541	15,470	13,402	71,946
Total	515,198	583,576	842,347	966,747	1,205,314

* "Reports Immigration Com.," 1911, I, 15.
[1] Included in "others."

3. *Distribution of Foreign Born in Illinois by Counties.*

If we select for further study those counties which at any one of the last five census periods show a percentage of foreign born in their

population larger than the average for the whole State we shall have a list of 29 counties. The following table enumerates these counties together with the proportion of the foreign born in each case by decades, and the absolute number of foreign born when this exceeds 10,000. This latter figure is given to serve as a check in a few cases when the relative figure was high, but owing to the small size of the county, the actual number of foreign born was small.

TABLE III—TOTAL NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN BORN POPULATION IN SELECTED COUNTIES, 1870-1910.

(Figures are given only when they are over 10,000 population or a larger per cent than that for whole State.)

County.	1870		1880		1890		1900		1910	
	Population.	Per cent.	Population.	Per cent.	Population.	Per cent.	Population.	Per cent.	Population.	Per cent.
State	515,198	20.3	583,576	19.0	842,347	22.0	966,747	20.0	1,202,560	21.3
JoDaviess		28.2		23.5						
Stephenson		22.1								
Winnebago		22.9		21.6	11,208	28.1	12,313	25.7	16,531	26.2
Boone		21.5		20.0		22.2				
McHenry				19.4		22.3				
Lake		27.2		23.9		24.7		24.1	14,588	26.5
Cook	166,772	47.6	242,415	39.9	482,652	40.5	624,104	34.0	842,651	35.0
DuPage		31.2		27.8		28.8		23.2		
Kane	10,336	26.4	11,065	24.6	18,254	28.1	19,185	24.3	21,483	23.3
DeKalb				19.7		22.8				
Lee		22.4								
Rock Island		29.1	10,399	27.1	11,733	27.9	13,238	23.9	16,306	23.2
Henry	10,278	28.9		26.4		26.5		23.4		21.5
Bureau								21.6	10,134	23.0
Putnam										27.4
LaSalle	16,262	26.7	17,834	25.3	22,439	27.7	20,448	23.3	19,261	21.4
Kendall		21.6		21.4		23.3				
Grundy		26.7		26.2		36.1		29.7		27.7
Will	14,587	33.9	16,157	30.2	18,740	30.2	19,714	26.4	22,064	26.2
Kankakee		31.5		24.9				20.5		
Ford		21.9		22.1		21.5				
Woodford		21.4		19.0						
Peoria	11,673	24.5	10,886	19.6	12,412		12,469		12,437	
Adams	11,740	20.8	10,028	19.8						
Madison	12,880	29.1	11,615	23.1					15,546	
St. Clair	18,321	35.8	15,972	25.8	12,868					
Monroe		33.2		23.2						
Clinton		27.8		21.8						
Washington		21.9		20.2						

The first thing to be noticed about the distribution of the foreign born is their comparatively wide distribution throughout the State in 1870 and 1880, and their increasing concentration in a smaller number of counties since that time. In 1870 and 1880 the proportion of foreign born exceeded the general average for the State in 25 counties; this number fell to 15 in 1890, to 12 in 1900, and to 11 in 1910. On the other hand the number of counties, the proportion of whose foreign born was less than 10 per cent of their total population, rose steadily from 43 in 1870 to 46 in 1880, to 50 in 1890, to 60 in 1900, and to 66 in 1910. Inasmuch as the proportion of the foreign born element in the State as a whole remained almost constant—20.3 per cent in 1870 and 21.3 per cent in 1910—these facts indicate a tremendous concentration of the foreign born in a small number of counties. In 1910

over 82 per cent of the foreign born population in the State were concentrated in 10 counties, and 72 per cent in the single county of Cook.

The second significant fact about the distribution of the foreign born element in the State is the way in which they hug the northern border. If we should draw a line across the State from Will County on the east to Rock Island on the west there would not be found in our table for 1910 a single county south of this line. The few counties in the southern and central parts of the State that were listed for 1870 and 1880 became more thoroughly saturated with native stock with each successive census year. Madison and St. Clair still show a considerable number of foreign born, but the proportion to the total population has steadily fallen. The explanation of this movement is to be found in the tendency of immigrants, especially those from northern Europe, who have until recently made up the bulk of the foreign born element in this State, to settle along northern lines of latitude; to their desire to be near kinsmen in Wisconsin and other neighboring states peopled largely by foreigners; and more recently to the extreme concentration of the immigrants in Chicago, there to find employment in her growing manufactures.

4. *Distribution of Foreign Born by Principal Cities.*

If we take the twelve cities in Illinois which at the census of 1910 had a total population of over 25,000 we note in them the same concentration of the foreign born that we observed in the case of the counties, only here it is even stronger. While the foreign born made up only 21.3 per cent of the total population of the State on this date, in the twelve cities named they constituted 32.6 per cent. In 1870, with the exception of Decatur, each city had more than one-fifth of its population of alien birth, and ten of them had over one-quarter. By 1880 the distribution was less widespread and with each successive decade there has been a stronger concentration of the alien elements in Chicago and a proportionate shrinkage in most of the other cities. From 80 per cent in 1870 the proportion of the foreign born included in these twelve cities who resided in Chicago alone rose steadily until it reached 92 per cent in 1910. In the latter year Chicago had 65 per cent of all the foreign born in the State. But there are also some small mining and manufacturing towns which do not appear in the table, a large share of whose population consists of immigrants.

If we consider the group of these twelve cities as a whole we find a steadily increasing proportion of the foreign born elements of our State population concentrating there. In 1870 only 35.3 per cent of the foreign born were to be found in these cities, most of them residing in rural districts. In 1880, the percentage in the cities was 41.5 per cent; it was 60.0 per cent in 1890; 66.5 per cent in 1900; and 70.9 per cent in 1910. At the beginning of the last half century the foreign born element was predominantly rural; to-day it is overwhelmingly urban.

The causes for the concentration of the immigrants or foreign born in the large cities and especially in Chicago is first of all to be found in the exhaustion of the free or cheap land that took the earlier settlers

on to the farms. This outlet is now practically closed. A second cause is the development of factory industry which attracts and employs the immigrant in urban industrial centers. The city itself is a recent growth; in 1870 Chicago was the only city in the State with a population over 25,000. Consequently there could not yet have been much urban concentration. And finally, as an explanation of the massing of the alien elements in Chicago, it must be remembered that Chicago is the great distributing point for immigrants to the west and northwest. Some of those now residents there may move on to other sections after they have learned the language and become acquainted with the industrial opportunities open to them elsewhere.

TABLE IV—FOREIGN BORN POPULATION IN PRINCIPAL CITIES OF ILLINOIS.

	1870		1880		1890		1900		1910	
	Number.	Per cent of city population.	Number.	Per cent of city population.	Number.	Per cent of city population.	Number.	Per cent of city population.	Number.	Per cent of city population.
Aurora	3,071	27.5	2,632	22.1	4,819	24.4	5,067	21.0	6,702	22.5
Bloomington	3,898	25.5	3,491	20.3	4,086	19.9	3,604	15.5	3,407	13.2
Chicago	144,557	48.3	204,859	40.7	450,666	40.9	585,420	34.5	781,217	35.7
Danville	966	20.3	1,119	14.4	1,340	11.6	1,433	8.8	1,998	7.2
Decatur	997	13.9	1,166	12.2	2,158	12.9	1,934	9.3	2,422	7.8
East St. Louis	2,353	41.6	2,491	27.1	2,818	10.8	3,903	13.2	9,400	16.1
Elgin	1,452	26.6	2,213	25.1	4,874	27.4	5,411	24.1	5,661	21.8
Joliet	2,304	31.7	3,148	27.0	7,412	31.8	8,510	29.0	10,441	30.1
Peoria	7,357	32.1	7,125	24.3	8,254	20.1	8,927	15.9	8,810	13.2
Quincy	7,733	32.1	6,562	24.0	6,132	19.5	4,948	13.6	3,641	10.0
Rockford	3,041	27.5	3,272	24.9	7,802	33.0	9,332	30.1	13,828	30.5
Springfield	4,456	25.0	4,284	21.6	4,796	19.3	4,637	13.6	6,900	13.4
Total cities named	182,185	42.3	242,362	36.2	505,157	37.5	643,126	31.8	854,427	32.6

5. *Distribution of the Negro Population.*

The Negro population of Illinois has been increasing steadily since 1870 and with the exception of the decade 1880-1890, at a more rapid rate than the white population. The appended table shows this very clearly. Especially rapid was the growth in the decade ending with 1870, when it was 277 per cent or almost four times the rate of increase of the white population. As a result of this influx of Negroes the proportion which they constitute of the total population has increased very steadily from 1.1 per cent in 1870 to 1.9 per cent in 1910. But the absolute number is still small, amounting only to 109,049 at the last census.

They are strongly massed in the southern counties and in three of them constitute a considerable proportion of the total population. Thus in Pulaski in 1910 they made up 37.8 per cent, in Alexander 34.2 per cent, and in Massac 18.2 per cent. In no other county did they constitute as much as 8 per cent. From these southern counties they gradually filter through the rest of the State. Like the foreign born they show a considerable tendency to concentrate in cities, but East St. Louis is the only city in the State whose population is markedly

affected by them, 10 per cent of its population in 1910 consisting of Negroes. No other city of those listed in the census has as much as 6 per cent.

TABLE V—COLORED POPULATION IN ILLINOIS, 1870–1910.

	Colored population in Illinois.	Per cent of total.	Rate of increase of colored.	Rate of increase of white.
1870	28,762	1.1	277.1	47.4
1880	46,368	1.6	61.2	20.7
1890	57,028	1.5	23.0	24.3
1900	85,078	1.8	49.2	25.6
1910	109,049	1.9	28.2	16.7

II. MOVEMENT OF THE NATIVE BORN POPULATION.

The picture of the foreign born population is necessarily one of change and movement; scarcely less so is that of the native born population. In 1818, just a hundred years ago, John Bristed, in his *Resources of America,* said the Americans were the "most locomotive people" he had ever seen. This characterization is still true, and Illinoisans are to-day apparently among the most restless of the seething people of this country. In discussing the movement of the native born population in Illinois, we find that there are two phases of the subject, namely, (1) the migration of native born whites from other states to Illinois, and (2) the migration of natives of Illinois to other states. These we may take up in turn.

TABLE VI—NATIVE BORN POPULATION OF ILLINOIS.

	1870		1880		1890		1900		1910	
	Number.	Per cent of total population.	Number.	Per cent of total population.	Number.	Per cent of total population.	Number.	Per cent of total population.	Number.	Per cent of total population.
Total population of Illinois	2,539,891	100.0	3,077,871	100.0	3,826,352	100.0	4,821,300	100.0	5,638,591	100.0
Born in United States	2,024,693	79.7	2,494,295	81.0	2,984,005	78.0	3,854,803	79.9	4,433,277	78.6
Born in Illinois	1,189,503	48.0	1,709,520	56.0	2,196,288	57.0	2,893,857	60.0	3,406,638	68.0

1. *Migration of Native Born Whites to Illinois.*

It was of course natural—in fact necessary—that Illinois, one of the newer states, should be peopled by settlers from the older sections, and this process was by no means completed by 1870. Two generations had grown up within the State since it was first settled, and most of the people then residing in it had been born outside the State. Only 48 per cent of the population in 1870 had been born in Illinois, but this proportion steadily increased, reaching 56 per cent in 1880, 57 per cent in 1890, 60 per cent in 1900, and 68 per cent in 1910. That is to say,

while the Illinois stock made up less than half the population of the State in 1870, it constituted over two-thirds in 1910. At the same time the aggregate American born element remained almost constant, at about 80 per cent of the total population.

It is manifest, however, that if the percentage of native stock remains constant while those born within the State constitute an increasing proportion of the whole, the infusion of native born from outside the State must be declining relatively, if not absolutely. And if we examine the statistics of movement to and from the State this is exactly what we find. The percentage of the American born in Illinois coming from other states in the Union steadily declined during this period from 41.7 per cent of the native born population in 1870 to 31.5 per cent in 1880, 25.7 per cent in 1890, 24.9 per cent in 1900, and 22.6 per cent in 1910. This was of course a perfectly natural movement, for not only was Illinois itself being filled up, but the states further west offered even greater inducements to settlement in the way of free homesteads. Indeed, during the decades 1870-80 and 1880-90 there was an absolute falling off in the numbers of native born Americans migrating into Illinois. Transcontinental railways carried intending settlers rapidly past Illinois to the free farms of the boundless West. Not until the desirable public domain was practically exhausted did this movement spend itself and the settlement of Illinois begin again. Thus in the two decades ending in 1900 and 1910 the number of natives of other states settling in Illinois has increased absolutely, though relatively the movement has not maintained itself. Moreover it is interesting to note that whereas most of this group down to 1900 had been recruited from the eastern states, in 1910 there was a distinct back-eddy and Missouri appears among the four states most important in this regard, with a contribution of 85,161 to the population of Illinois.

TABLE VII—STATE OF ORIGIN OF AMERICAN BORN POPULATION OF ILLINOIS FROM FIVE LEADING STATES.

States from which native born population came to Illinois.	1870		1880		1890		1900		1910	
	Number.	Per cent of native born population.	Number.	Per cent of native born population.	Number.	Per cent of native born population.	Number.	Per cent of native born population.	Number.	Per cent of native born population.
Total	835,910	41.7	784,775	31.5	758,822	25.7	960,946	24.9	997,189	22.6
Indiana	86,407	4.3	91,388	3.6	96,349	3.2	128,155	3.3	143,388	3.2
Kentucky	67,702	3.3	61,928	2.5	54,815	1.9	62,209	1.6	74,543	1.7
New York	133,494	6.6	120,199	4.8	110,220	3.8	111,078	3.0	92,300	2.1
Ohio	163,012	8.1	136,884	5.5	126,046	4.2	137,161	3.6	122,391	2.7
Pennsylvania	98,614	4.9	89,467	3.6	76,723	2.5	78,646	2.0	78,116	1.8

If now we inquire in detail which states of the Union supplied Illinois with the American born stock, which flowed in almost as rapidly as the foreign born, we find that the most conspicuous contributors were the states to the east. The largest number came from the five

states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky, although as just stated Missouri should be included in the list in 1910. In general the movement into Illinois followed the same lines as foreign immigration, moving with curious directness along parallels of latitude. From New York and Pennsylvania, through Ohio and Indiana, and even from Kentucky into the southern counties of the State, the movement proceeded almost straight west.

The inflow of citizens from Indiana increased steadily from 1870 to 1910 and was the only one of the chief contributing states to show a constant increase. The contributions from New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania decreased pretty steadily from decade to decade with only a slight recovery in the decade ending with 1900, while that from Kentucky, after declining for thirty years, now shows an upward tendency. The reason for these differences is doubtless to be found in the fact that the industrial opportunities of Illinois are better than those of her nearest neighbors, Indiana and Kentucky, while they are not sufficiently different from those to be found in the other three states to attract their citizens in increasing volume. In every case, however, the percentage of persons residing in Illinois and born in the specified state has declined in proportion to the whole native born population.

It is not possible to state in further detail in what part of Illinois the immigrants from other states settled except for the year 1870 and 1880, as the data on this point is not given in subsequent census reports. In 1870 the largest number from New York state settled in Kane and Winnebago counties; in 1880 in Cook and Will. For persons from Pennsylvania, Stephenson and Cook Counties were the favorite objective in both 1870 and 1880. Ohioans settled in McLean and Champaign in 1870 and in Cook and McLean in 1880; Indiana residents moved to Vermilion and Champaign in 1870 and to Vermilion and Cook in 1880; while those from Kentucky settled first in the counties of Sangamon and McLean, and later in Cook and Sangamon. The fact that in four out of five cases Cook County attracted the largest number of settlers and in the fifth case next to the largest number in 1880 already indicates what probably has held true ever since, namely that Chicago rather than the agricultural counties has proved the lodestone to persons moving into the state from other parts of the United States.

2. *Emigration of Natives of Illinois to Other States.*

Even more striking than the movement of native born Americans into Illinois has been the exodus of those born within the state to other El Dorados farther west. New as the State is, it is not so new as other states and to them Illinois has lost heavily of its sons and daughters. In 1870 and 1880 more native Americans moved to Illinois than left it, but by 1890 the tide had turned and with each succeeding decade the exodus became greater. In 1870 the proportion of persons born in Illinois and leaving the State was one-fifth, in 1880 one-fourth, and in 1890, 1900 and 1910 over one-fourth. Five states have absorbed most of these wanderers, namely: Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri and

Nebraska, though at each census period other states have appeared as temporary rivals.

TABLE VIII—FIVE LEADING STATES OF RESIDENCE OF PERSONS BORN IN ILLINOIS LIVING OUTSIDE OF ILLINOIS.

States to which persons born in Illinois emigrated.	1870		1880		1890		1900		1910	
	Number.	Per cent of total population born in Illinois.	Number.	Per cent of total population born in Illinois.	Number.	Per cent of total population born in Illinois.	Number.	Per cent of total population born in Illinois.	Number.	Per cent of total population born in Illinois.
Total....	288,418	19.5	553,889	24.5	817,717	27.1	1,012,637	25.9	1,308,085	27.7
Indiana.....	16,389	.....	27,201	.....	31,116	.....	58,487	.....	80,527	.....
Iowa.....	65,261	.....	102,820	.....	114,471	.....	142,232	.....	138,310	.....
Kansas.....	35,454	.....	106,992	.....	137,903	.....	113,704	.....	116,341	.....
Missouri.....	72,324	.....	103,290	.....	135,585	.....	179,342	.....	186,691	.....
Nebraska....	9,638	.....	45,583	.....	107,862	.....	85,812	.....	77,709	.....

In 1870 about one fifth (19.5 per cent) of the persons born in Illinois were living outside of the State, the largest number being found in Missouri; in addition to the states named above, Wisconsin (12,152) and Minnesota (10,962) had also received considerable contributions. By 1880 the proportion of Illinoisans living outside the state was almost exactly a quarter (24.5 per cent), most of whom were now in Nebraska. The situation shows clearly a strong westward movement, spilling the surplus population of Illinois over Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, and Nebraska, with smaller splotches in Texas (19,643) and California (17,254), and a back-eddy into Indiana.[1] By 1880 the proportion of the native population of Illinois who have left the State is still greater (27.1 per cent); Kansas now claims the largest number, but together with Nebraska, reaches in this decade the climax of its popularity, for after this the number in each of these states declines. In addition to the states listed in the table, California (31,159) and Colorado (28,196) each attract growing numbers. The decade ending with 1900 shows a slight decline in the proportion of the natives of Illinois who have settled elsewhere—to 25.9 per cent—tho the absolute number keeps growing. Missouri has become the popular state. Iowa has reached its zenith, and the continuance of the far westward movement gives to California 42,304 persons, while Minnesota comes next with 36,612. The census for 1910 shows little change, except a strong movement to Oklahoma (71,085), which now usurps the position momentarily held by Minnesota, while the number in California grows to 87,291.

The statistics cited leave no doubt as to the mobility of the population of Illinois; it slips easily over the State lines,[2] whether moving in or out. This is not peculiar to the State, but is and always has been a characteristic of the American people. However, it seems to be some-

[1] See an excellent map in the Tenth Census (1880), Vol. Pop., p. 385.
[2] This is doubtless true also of county lines, but unfortunately no statistical data exist to prove it.

what more marked in the case of Illinois than of most other states. For instance, in 1910 the proportion of persons in the United States as a whole who lived outside of the State of their birth was 21.7 per cent, but for Illinois it was 27.7 per cent. For the same year Illinois was exceeded only by New York in the number of persons born in and leaving the State, and only by Oklahoma in the number of domestic immigrants who settled in the State. If, however, we take the percentages for these two movements, which give a juster statement, we find that Illinois ranks 10th in the first case and 27th in the second.

To make the effect of this interstate migration upon the composition of the population of Illinois a little more concrete, let us suppose that every native born person in the United States should return to the place of his birth. What would be the effect of such a home-coming upon Illinois? In1870 Illinois would have lost 835,190 domestic immigrants, but on the other would have gained 288,418 natives of the State who had moved to other states; the total population would have been less by 546,772. In 1880 the loss would have been 784,775, and the gain 553,889; or a net loss of 230,886. In 1890 for the first time the number of domestic immigrants,758,822, was less than the natives of Illinois living in other states, or 817,717; consequently the State would have gained 58,895 from an exchange. In 1900 and 1910 the same thing was true, and in these two years a universal home-coming would have netted the State 51,691 and 310,896 respectively.

These figures indicate to some extent the loss which Illinois has suffered by the emigration of her native born population; but after all the loss is not confined to the number of those who leave, for the descendants of those who left during the decade ending in 1890 are themselves now grown up and they and their children would have been counted in the population of Illinois had their father or grandfather not left the State. Moreover, as the figures show only the number of those living in the given localities on the date specified, and as the number of natives of Illinois in other states has been constantly growing at each successive census, we must conclude, in view of the mortality that must have occurred among those enumerated at the earlier periods, that the number of emigrants from Illinois is even greater than the statistics indicate, and that there has been a steadily increasing stream out of the State from year to year.

The facts are fairly obvious, but the causal explanation of these facts is more difficult. How can we explain the great restlessness, the high degree of nobility, of the American born population? The earlier movement into the State was probably occasioned by the agricultural opportunities; in 1870 many came and few left. But 1870 saw the height of the movement into Illinois up to that time; the next two decades saw a decided falling off. In 1900 and 1910, however, the industrial attractiveness of Chicago more than compensated for the lessened lure of Illinois land, and the number of native immigrants increased again, absolutely if not relatively. Much of the movement into and out of the State has been merely across state lines, which often denotes a less radical change than the transfer from the farms

to the city within the same State. Indiana and Kentucky contributed a considerable proportion of domestic immigration into Illinois, while from a third to a half of those who left the State settled in adjoining states. Illinois seems to have occupied the position of a sort of half way house, whose restless population sojourned there awhile, but never really settled down.

The principal cause of the emigration of the natives of Illinois to other states farther west—whither most of them have gone—has undoubtedly been the existence of cheaper land there. With the increase of population and the filling up of the State the price of land would go up and more careful and intensive methods of agriculture would be necessary. Many an early settler has thought it to his advantage to sell out his farm at a higher price, pocket the "unearned increment," and move farther west to cheaper land, where he could repeat the process.

But another factor, closely connected with this, has probably been even more important in inducing emigration from Illinois. For many of the early settlers and natives of the State, bred to primitive conditions, with consequent careless tillage and a one crop system, a change in methods of farming would have proved more difficult than a physical transfer of their families and themselves to another state where they could continue the same practices. Men changed more easily than methods. Hence we note a steady movement to the newer settlements, in turn, of Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Texas and Oklahoma. Here, with new land, they may repeat the exploitative methods of farming which were no longer profitable in Illinois, but to which they are accustomed. The strong movement to California may be in part explained by the desire for a more congenial climate, and in part by the growing wealth of natives of Illinois which permits them to gratify their inclinations in this regard.

ILLINOIS AND THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD TO CANADA.

(By Verna Cooley, University of Illinois.)

1. THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.

Under the obligations of the Constitution, the act of harboring and secreting slaves was made illegal by the National Government. Because of the presence of men in the North who were eager to betray the people who were breaking the law and to send the fugitive back into slavery, the performance of this act was not only illegal but secret. From these two factors the Underground Railroad developed. The origin of this process is thought to have been in the year 1818. This conclusion is based on the testimony of H. B. Leeper. He placed the earliest activities in the years 1819 and 1820, when a small colony of anti-slavery people from Brown County, Ohio, settled in Bond County, in the southern part of Illinois. From this locality they emigrated to Putnam County, where they continued to harbor the fugitive slaves. Leeper's father was one of this same type, who, being an enemy of slavery, had moved from Marshall County, Tennessee, to Bond County, Illinois, in 1816. He remained in Bond County until 1823. After moving to Morgan County and from there to Putnam County, he finally settled in Bureau County. His home sheltered many a fugitive slave.[1]

In the years that witnessed the beginning of this process of helping slaves to attain freedom, bills were formulated in Congress to strengthen the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793. The alarm of the South appears in connection with the diplomatic negotiations of 1826 and 1828 on the question of the fugitive slave. Clay, then Secretary of State, declared the escape of slaves to British territory to be a "growing evil."[2] In 1838, there were resolutions in Congress calling for a bill providing for the punishment in the courts of the United States of all persons guilty of aiding fugitive slaves to escape or of enticing them away from their owners.[3]

Soon after 1835 the process was well established. Through the efforts of Dr. David Nelson, who had been driven from Missouri into Illinois on account of his anti-slavery views, Quincy was made a point of entrance for the slaves in the years 1839-1840,[4] In 1839, the first

[1] Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*, p 41
[2] Ibid., p. 192.
[3] Ibid., p. 193.
[4] Ibid., p .155.

known case of dispatching a fugitive from Chicago occurred.[5] By 1840, the practice of harboring and secreting slaves was widespread. The decade of 1830-1840 marked the opening of new cotton fields. With this increase of area for slavery came the negro's chief reason for flight, his dread of being sold farther south, thus being separated from friends and family.

The increased activity of the anti-slavery people in Illinois made the border slave states realize that the security of their slave property was being menaced. In St. Louis, scarcely a week passed in which the increased business of the Underground Railroad was not chronicled. In 1842, the St. Louis Organ reported that "the depredations of abolitionists upon our citizens are becoming more frequent and daring daily. Accounts from all parts of the State convince us that a regular system has been adopted by the abolitionists in Illinois to rob this State of her slaves, and it is high time that a summary stop was put to this flagrant wrong. Doubtless, their agents are now in our very midst. There are over four hundred thousand dollars worth of southern slaves in a town near Malden, Canada."[6] Codding, in the Liberty Convention for the South and West, held at Cincinnati, June 11, 1845, told his audience that the people of Illinois were doing a fair business under the name of the Underground Railroad.[7] But he pointed out that they are compelled to meet the question of morals, for aiding the fugitive clashes at a thousand points with the interests of men. He also said that they were accused of stealing negroes, and the negroes of stealing boats and horses; therefore, the charge must be answered by applying the principle which Christ taught them, of judging what is right in case of our neighbor by making it our own.[8]

Because of the more perfect organization and concert action of the anti-slavery men in Illinois, the people of St. Louis held a meeting to adopt measures for greater security of negro property. Funds were raised and commissioners, whose names were to be kept secret, were appointed. Resolutions were passed condemning all negro preaching and teaching. A memorial was adopted asking the legislature to pass a law forbidding all schools for education of the blacks and meetings for religious worship, except in the day time and when services were conducted by a regular ordained white minister or priest,[9]

From 1850 to 1860 was the period of the road's greatest activity, accelerated by the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. The reaction of the conductors toward this law was that of defiance, hence they displayed added zeal in aiding fugitives.[10] After the signing of the bill, a storm broke over the North with violence, political conventions, abolition meetings, and religious organizations poured forth a deluge of resolutions and petitions against the law. The *Western Citizen* printed a petition for the repeal of the bill to be cut from the paper and circulated through-

[5] Siebert, The *Underground Railroad*, p. 24.
[6] *Western Citizen*, September 23, 1842.
[7] The Western Citizen featured an interesting cartoon in 1844, showing the picture of a train, carrying fugitives, and going into a mountain tunnel. Under it was printed, 'Liberty Line. Regular trips are announced with J. Cross as proprietor." Ibid., July 18, 1844.
[8] Ibid., July 3, 1845.
[9] *Western Citizen*, November 24, 1846.
[10] Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*, p. 24.

out the State. It was asserted that scarcely a man could be found who would not sign it.[11] The colored people of Chicago saw that if this law were enforced no colored person in the United States would be free from liability to slavery, hence they considered it expedient to appoint a vigilance committee to watch for attempts at kidnapping.[12]

A defiant yet official action was taken by the Chicago Common Council, which passed resolutions requesting the citizens and police of Chicago to abstain from any and all interference in the capture and deliverance of the fugitive.[13] The question was placed before the public for discussion in a mass meeting held in the city hall. Resolutions were submitted to the people, which declared that "we recognize no obligations of a moral or legal value resting on us as citizens to assist or countenance the execution of this law." Frequent cheers interrupted the reading of the resolutions, and an outburst of enthusiasm showed the sympathy and satisfaction of the audience.[14] Evidence of this open defiance of the law was not confined to Chicago. In reply to a speech given by Honorable William Thomas, entitled "Exposition and Defence of the Fugitive Slave Law," William Carter of Winchester, Illinois, wrote, "This fugitive slave bill, so far as I know, is the first ever passed by Congress commanding all good citizens to do what the Divine Law forbids. We are not bound to obey.[15]

The problem became so grave for Missourians that in 1857, the General Assembly, by joint resolutions, instructed the Missourian representative in Congress to demand of the Federal Government the securing of their property as guaranteed by the Constitution, and in particular against the action of certain citizens of Chicago who had aided fugitives to escape and had hindered and mistreated Missouri citizens in search of their slaves.[16] In 1859 the *Western Citizen* made the following estimate of the activity of the Underground Railroad, rather extravagantly phrased, but nevertheless indicating the degree of boldness with which they advertised it. "This road is doing better business this fall than usual. The Fugitive Slave Law has given it more vitality, more activity, more passengers, and more opposition, which invariably accelerates business. We can run a lot of slaves through from almost any part of the bordering states into Canada within forty-eight hours and we defy the slave holder to beat that if they can."[17]

These reports of the activity of the Underground Railroad mean nothing if one does not know how many fugitives were actually aided. It was no doubt a tendency of these people who harbored and secreted the slave, under the spell of danger and adventure, to exaggerate the extent of their secret undertaking. However, when numbers are given, with due

[11] *Western Citizen*, October 8, 1850.
[12] Ibid., October 8, 1850.
[13] Mann, *The Chicago Common Council and the Fugitive Slave Law of* 1850., p. 70.
[14] Ibid., p. 72.
[15] A Reply to Hon. Wm. Thomas' "*Exposition and Defence of the Fugitive Slave Law*" by William Carter, Winchester, Illinois. Printed at the office of the Western Unionist, 1851, p. 5.
[16] Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri*, p. 203.
[17] *Western Citizen*, November 9, 1859. The point about the increasing number of passengers is doubtful. From Chatham in Canada, J. E. Ambrose of Elgin, Illinois, received word that "the accursed Fugitive Slave Bill is driving them daily by hundreds into this country," Ibid., October 8, 1850. This probably referred to the negroes who had settled in Northern Illinois, and were fleeing for fear of kidnappers.

allowance for over estimation, one can see concretely the degree of the road's activity. The entire number of fugitives who escaped annually from the South has been roughly estimated at two thousand. Reports of numbers transported on the Underground Railroad through Illinois tends to substantiate this estimate. When one considers the number of termini from the East to Iowa and that each aided fully as many as Chicago, it is not difficult to account for the two thousand. Take, for example, some numbers given in 1854 by the *Western Citizen.* Fifteen fugitives in the fore part of one week arrived in Chicago by the Underground Railroad.[18] December 16, 1854, it was reported that since May 6, 1854, four hundred eighty-two were taken by the Underground Railroad across to Canada from Detroit[19] As many as twenty at a time were said to have left Chicago for Canada and freedom.[20] The largest number found in this year was given for the three months ending September 1, 1854, one hundred seventy-six passengers, and for the three months ending December 1, one hundred twenty-four, which made a total of three hundred for six months.[21]

II. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT.

Illinois, bordered by Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and with her boundaries increased by the windings of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, was easy of access for the slave.[22] The rivers served as channels of escape, especially through the regions hostile to the fugitive. Missouri, extending into free territory, became the chief sufferer. The Mississippi for hundreds of miles alone separated Missouri from an ever watchful abolitionist minority in Illinois. The great interstate shipping along the Mississippi offered a chance for freedom to any plucky black who might be hired as a boat hand or stowed away by a sympathetic crew till a free port was reached.[23] In addition to this close connection with slave territory, the Illinois Underground Railroad was in communication with the lines of Iowa[24] and Indiana.[25] At Davenport the fugitive crossed the river into Illinois, and from there they travelled through a comparatively safe and friendly territory to Chicago.

[18] *Free West,* December 14, 1854.
[19] Chicago *Daily Democrat,* December 16, 1854.
[20] Springfield *State Register,* September 21, 1854.
[21] *Free West,* December 21, 1854.
In January, 1855, the Chicago Democrat reported, "On Friday night last sixteen human chattels from the Sunny South came up on the Underground Railroad on their way toward the North Star." *Chicago Democrat,* January 6, 1855.
[22] A negro from the state of Virginia was resolved to find an asylum from slavery. He followed the Ohio to its mouth, then went up the Mississippi to the neighborhood of Alton, where he received provisions and was taken on to Springfield. *Western Citizen,* November 16, 1843.
[23] Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri,* 1804–1865, p. 173.
[24] Beginning at Tabor, Fremont County, near the State line, the Abolitionists had stations extending by way of Des Moines, Grinnell, Iowa City, and Springdale to Davenport. B. F. Gue, *History of Iowa,* p. 373.
[25] Fugitives were sent into Indiana from Wilmington and Joliet, Will County, to Crown Point, Lake County. George H. Woodruff, *History of Will County,* p. 557. Since the slave owner invaribly went to Chicago to look for his property, this line was no doubt used to avoid him.

While the large number of slaves came from Missouri and Kentucky,[26] they also made their way from Virginia,[27] and Tennessee,[28] but rarely from the more remote sugar and cotton growing states.[29] Slaves entering Illinois from the South and Southeast found a hostile territory and were obliged to depend on their own resources.[30] They crossed the river in the vicinity of Cairo which resented any implication of complicity in the Underground Railroad, as is shown in the Cairo *City Times* which says: "The impression has gone abroad that there is to be an Underground Railroad from this place to Chicago, and that negroes will be induced to run away from Missouri and Kentucky. We assure our friends abroad that such fears are entirely without foundation."[31]

The chief points of entrance were Chester,[32] Alton,[33] and Quincy.[34] The tracing of continuous routes from these starting points is a matter of guesswork unless evidence could be gained at each station of its cooperation with the next station. But given the three chief points of entrance, the general direction northeast, and individual stations, with some evidence of cooperation in certain localities, one can form an opinion of three general pathways followed by the fugitive. Using Siebert's map with evidence gained from other sources, one sees that it is probable that one pathway from Chester led to Sparta, about twenty miles northeast, thence to Centralia and from there north, possibly through the friendly territory of Will County to Chicago;[35] the second from Alton, northeast to Jacksonville, then through the vicinity of LaSalle and Ottawa to Chicago,[36] and third, from Quincy, through the neighborhoods of Mendon, Farmington, Galesburg, Princeton, La Salle and ending at the terminus, Chicago.[37]

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[26] Slave owners who lived in Kentucky on the Ohio River were liable to loss of property, as is illustrated by the following incident. A negro was permitted by his owner to visit his free wife who lived in Shawneetown. He availed himself of the opportunity to go farther North, but was captured near Atlanta in Logan County, in spite of the fact that Abolitionists made an attempt to smuggle him into Canada. Ottawa *Free Trader*, August 8, 1857.

[27] A negro who had been sold away from his family and taken somewhere near the line between Virginia and Kentucky, followed the Ohio, then the Mississippi to Alton, where he received aid. *Western Citizen*, November 16, 1843.

[28] Dr. J. D. Mason of Jackson, Tennessee, found his fugitive slave near Centralia, Illinois, and in consequence of taking his property he was the object of the hostility of the Abolitionists. St. Clair *Tribune*, November 24, 1855.

[29] Chicago *Daily Democrat*, December 5, 1859.

In the *Western Citizen* of July, 1845, it is reported that a husband and wife who had travelled on foot from Georgia, came into town. They desired to better their condition, so they started on a visit to some relatives who had preceded them several years ago and settled in Massachusetts. *Western Citizen*, July 3, 1845.

[30] The following item illustrates the dangers of a fugitive in traveling through Southern Illinois. Two negroes who had escaped from their owners in Kentucky the other day arrived in Chicago on the Illinois Central Railroad on Tuesday night, "having safely passed the snares and traps laid for fugitives in Jonesboro (Union County) and other towns in Egypt." Chicago *Daily Democrat*, December 15, 1859.

[31] Cairo City *Times*, February 7, 1855.

[32] Harris, *Negro Slavery in Illinois* p. 60.

[33] Alton *Daily Courier*, December 1, 1853.
Springfield Illinois *Daily Journal*, October 12, 1859.

[34] *Western Citizen*, June 30, 1846.

[35] These references and the following give evidence of the location of a station at the particular place, the connection being a matter of guesswork and probability since the general direction is the same.
Sparta, Belleville *Advocate*, September 25, 1851.
Centralia, St. Clair *Tribune*, November 24, 1855.
Will County, *Western Citizen*, August 25, 1846.

[36] Jacksonville, Charles H. Rammelkamp, *Illinois College and the Anti-Slavery Movement, Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1908, p. 200.
LaSalle *Western Citizen*, September 9, 1848.
Ottawa, Ottawa *Free Trader*, December 31, 1859.

[37] Mendon, *Western Citizen*, November 2, 1843.
Farmington, Ibid., September 16, 1842.
Galesburg, *History of Knox County*, pp. 210–211.
Princeton, Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*, p. 41.

Chicago was the great terminus, the point where most of the lines converged. Here the slave was virtually safe, for he was not only assured of protection from white people, but the negro element was strong enough to prevent his capture.[38] The colored population did not hesitate to resist officers of the law and slave holders. The *Western Citizen* of November, 1850, tells of a slaveholder who, after taking his property, was overtaken five miles out of the city by the negroes. The slave was rescued by them and sent off to Canada.[39] When attempts were made by the people to rescue a fugitive the colored people always formed part of the mob.[40] The city proved to be an unpleasant place for the slaveholder or slave-catcher, as was evident in 1857, when Samuel Thompson came to Chicago with a negro boy who was not a slave. It was rumored about that the boy was a slave and that Thompson was taking him back to bondage. A large crowd gathered about his lodging house and threatened violence. Although an officer, after an interview with Thompson, assured the people that all was right, the crowd was not quieted, and the man under suspicion was forced to submit to imprisonment in order to escape violence.[41] The realization of the attitude of Chicago by Southerners is aptly expressed by the Cairo *Weekly Times*. "They are undoubtedly the most riotous people in this State. Say nigger and slave-catcher in the same breath and they are up in arms."[42]

Few lines were known in the South except those developed by some Covenanter Communities between Chester and Centralia.[43] The Southeast was the enemy's country for the fugitive. Bitter animosity was felt by the people of this region toward any person aiding the slave and also toward any section which distinguished itself in that respect. This feeling is expressed by the Shawneetown *Gazette* as a result of the satisfaction expressed by Chicago over the discharge of a slave from the claims of a slave agent.[44] The paper says, "We of the South do not regard Chicago as belonging to Illinois. It is as perfect a sink hole of abolitionism as Boston or Cincinnati.[45]

When the fugitive reached western and northern Illinois, he was placed less on his own resources. This is shown by the multiplicity of stations in that part of the State. North and west of the Illinois River there was scarcely a county that did not have many places of refuge.[46] It is even possible to add to Siebert's map in counties already well filled, additional stations, Bristol, Kendall County, and Troy Grove, LaSalle County. The aggressive leaders were of New England de-

[38] "Besides those who pass through here, ... there are a number who make up their mind to stay here, believing that they will be almost as safe ..... as they would be in her Majesty's the Queen's Dominions." Chicago *Daily Democrat*, December 5, 1859.
[39] *Western Citizen*, November 5, 1850.
[40] Rock River *Democrat*, November 20, 1860.
[41] Rockford *Register*, September 5, 1857.
[42] Cairo *Weekly Times and Delta*, September 9, 1857.
[43] Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*, p. 32.
[44] Chicago *Daily Journal*, June 7, 1851.
[45] Belleville *Advocate*, July 17, 1851.
[46] Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*, p. 113.

scent[47] and anti-slavery people from the South, whose presence was especially marked in Bond, Putnam, and Bureau Counties.[48]

III. PERSONNEL.

In every section of Illinois distinguished for its anti-slavery sentiment, one finds courageous leaders who were bold in proclaiming their principles and so identified with the Underground Railroad that they were jealously watched and often betrayed. They were not the kind of people whom one would naturally expect to engage in such an adventurous and reckless pursuit, for they came from the quiet and orderly class of the community, ministers, college professors, farmers, lawyers, and doctors.

Quincy contributed to the personnel of the Underground Railroad Nelson, one of the first engaged in this work, Eells and Van Dorn. In 1842, Eells was tried under the fugitive slave act of Illinois for secreting and harboring a slave. The decision of the court was averse, and he was fined four hundred thousand dollars.[49] From the testimony of Van Dorn one learns that in a service of twenty-five years he helped onward two or three hundred fugitives.[50] The abolition views of the faculty of Illinois College were frankly avowed when President Beecher said that criticism would never silence them. Professor Turner was very active in the Underground Railroad. In his reminiscences he told of piloting three negro women to the house of a certain Azel Pierson from whence they were helped onward to Canada.[51] Among the students Samuel Willard, William Carter, and J. A. Coleman all of whom belonged to abolitionist families, went so far as to abduct a negro slave, the property of a woman visiting in Jacksonville. The students were not prosecuted, but Julius Willard, the father of Samuel, was indicted in the Morgan County Circuit Court and fined twenty dollars and costs.[52]

The same year as that of the Eells and Willard cases, Owen Lovejoy was tried in the Circuit Court of the county of Bureau before John Dean Caton, one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois, October, 1843, for harboring and secreting a negro woman

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[47] Siebert the Underground Railroad, p. 115.

[48] In 1843 the Putnam County anti-slavery society passed resolutions to the effect that "We are carefully determined to protect all fugitives." Harris, *Negro Slavery in Illinois*, p. 115.

At the proceedings of the Christian Anti-Slavery Convention held at Greenville in Bond County October 20, 1846, it was resolved that "no man can deliver unto his master the servant that is escaped unto him, or refuse to harbor or feed the hungry, needy man, or a fugitive slave, without coming under the denomination of those represented by the Saviour on his left hand in Matthew 24: 41." *Western Citizen*, November 3, 1846.

[49] The case was taken on a writ of error, first to the Supreme Court of the State, and after the death of Eells to the Supreme Court of the United States. In both instances the judgment of the original tribunal was confirmed. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*, p. 278. The points brought out by the case were: (1) That the State has the right to legislate on the subject of runaway slaves; therefore, it may prohibit the introduction of negro slaves into its territory and punish its citizens who introduce them, provided it does not interfere with the right of the master to his slave or infringe upon that position of the subject covered by the Congress of the United States: (2) that the escaping of a slave does not make it free, but he still remains the property of his master subject to arrest and punishment. This last point is a repetition of the latter part of Judge Caton's charge to the jury in the Lovejoy Case. Harris, *Negro Slavery in Illinois*, p. 113.

[50] Wilson, *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*. Vol II, p. 67.

[51] *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1908

Rammelkamp, *Illinois College and the Anti-Slavery Movement*.

Incident of Turner was taken from his reminiscences in the *Daily* Journal of August 2, 1884.

[52] The Supreme Court through Judge Seates expressed the opinion that, "A slaveholder has perfect right to pass through Illinois with his slaves, and comity between states will protect him in regarding the slaves as such, while passing through our limits. Harris, *Negro Slavery in Illinois*, p. 114.

called Nancy.[53] The counsel for Lovejoy was Collins. The tragedy of his brother caused him to persist in his fight against slavery. In 1854, he was elected to the legislature on that issue.[54] Before the year of his indictment he openly counselled the negro to "take all along your route, so far as is absolutely necessary to your escape, the horse, the boat, the food.[55]

These three decisions concerning the offences of Eells, Willard, and Lovejoy served only to arouse the abolitionists. The Illinois Anti-Slavery Society at its sixth anniversary, held in Chicago, June 7, 1843, elected Richard Eells president for the ensuing year and took the ground in one of its resolutions that by the Constitution of the United States free states are not bound to deliver up fugitives. At the seventh anniversary of the same society, held in Peoria, in June, 1844, the executive committee made a full report of all the fugitive slave cases during the year previous and praised the conduct of Lovejoy, Eells, and Williard.[56]

The community which seemed most permeated with the spirit of helping the slave was Knox County. Here we find John Cross, a Presbyterian minister, who made no secret of his attitude toward slavery. In 1844 he was indicted for hindering Andrew Borders from retaking a colored servant, Susan, and for harboring and secreting her.[57] Borders was a resident of Eden, Randolph County. Two of his colored women servants who had left him were captured at the home of Cross and placed in the Knoxville jail.[58] The imprisonment of Cross was used to arouse anti-slavery sentiment. In the *Western Citizen* of July, 1844, he wrote a highly colored description of his treatment in jail. The account of his experiences was copied by other anti-slavery sheets, *The Voice of Freedom, The Liberator,* and the Valparaiso Indiana *Ranger*.[59]

Galesburg, perhaps due to the pride of later generations which led them to preserve the experiences and exploits of their predecessors who were prominent in the community, stands out as probably the principal Underground Railroad Station in Illinois. This prominence is also due to the evidence of cooperation between the residents of Galesburg and the surrounding neighborhood. From the beginning the inhabitants of Galesburg, which was founded in 1837, by Presbyterians and Congregationalists who united to form one religious society under the name of the Presbyterian Church of Galesburg as a result of intense anti-slavery sentiment, was a place where the fugitive was sure of a refuge.[60] George Davis, Nehemiah West, Neely, Blanchard, and Samuel Hitchcock were willing not only to shelter the fugitive but to pilot him onward by way of Andover and Ontario to Stark County, where they were received by Wycoff, S. G. Wright, and W. W. Webster.[61]

[53] It was in this case that Judge Caton when he charged the jury, said that if a master voluntarily brings his slave into free territory that slave becomes free, but if the slave comes into this State without the consent of his master he is nevertheless still a slave. *Western Citizen*, October 26, 1843.
[54] Bateman and Selby, *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois*, p. 345.
[55] *Western Citizen*, July 26, 1842.
[56] Harris, *Negro Slavery in Illinois*, p. 115.
[57] *Western Citizen*, May 16, 1844.
[58] Harris, *Negro Slavery in Illinois*, p. 106.
[59] *Western Citizen*, July 18, 1844.
[60] Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*, p. 96.
[61] *History of Knox County*, p. 210.

The Ottawa Rescue case of 1859 was widely known throughout the State, for seven people at one time were indicted by the Grand Jury of the United States District Court at Chicago for aiding a fugitive to escape. Three of these, who were said to be among the best and wealthiest inhabitants of Ottawa, were arrested and imprisoned. The first of the series of the trials resulted in the conviction of John Hossack, a gentleman of wealth and prominence, and an earnest combatant of slavery, for aiding in the rescue of "Jim," a fugitive slave, from the custody of Albright, acting as Deputy Marshal, owner's agent and jailor of Union County.[62] The evidence was so direct that the jury could do nothing but let the law take its course; however, they recommended the prisoner to mercy, the object of the counsel of the Government having been stated in the course of the trial as not imprisonment nor an excessive fine, the purpose being merely conviction under the Fugitive Slave Law of 1851.[63] In October the three of the rescuers were sentenced.

Hossack's sentence was a fine of one hundred dollars and ten days' imprisonment, and Claudius B. King's, ten dollars and one day's imprisonment. Aside from these penalties a bill of costs for each remained; Hossack's was two thousand five hundred dollars; Stout's, two thousand; and King's fifty dollars.[64] As to whether these amounts were ever paid one cannot give any evidence. If the type of conductors in Ottawa was the same as those already shown, one can infer that these convictions would increase rather than decrease the activity of those attacking slavery. This case is an example of the activities of the Underground Railroad carried to the extreme of abducting the negro. Where seven were arrested and convicted for this bold deeds, hundreds were quietly and secretly conducting the road in a more unobtrusive manner.

Among the pioneers of Will County, Samuel Cushing and Peter Stewart were intimately connected with the Underground Railroad. Cushing was indicted in July, 1843, for aiding four negro slaves who came from the state of Missouri. Since the prosecuting attorney was not ready for trial, a *nol pros* was entered and Cushing was released.[65] The Stewart home, located at the junction of the Kankakee and Forked Creeks, was open to fugitive slaves. The complimentary and somewhat fanciful title of "President of the Underground Railroad" has been applied to Stewart.[66]

A brief glimpse has been given of the leaders of the Underground Railroad who sent their passengers on to Chicago. These leaders received more publicity because their methods were bolder, and since they had become marked men, they were prosecuted. Chicago was so in sympathy with the fugitives' attempt to realize freedom, that the passing of negroes even in large groups of ten or twenty was related in contemporary accounts with no reference to particular conduc-

[62] Chicago *Press and Tribune*, March 8, 1860.
[63] Rockford *Republican*, March 22, 1860.
[64] Aurora *Beacon*, October 11, 1860.
[65] George H. Woodruff, *History of Will County*, p. 557.
[66] Ibid, p. 267. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*, p. 69.

tors.[67] However, if the fugitive was captured by a slave-agent there were certain men who were willing to defend the fugitive. They openly maintained the right to give the fugitive aid, and to become the counsel of the conductor prosecuted for this act. At the trial of Hossack six of the leading lawyers of Chicago, Isaac N. Arnold, Joseph Knox, B. C. Cook, J. V. Eustace,E. Leland, and E. C. Larned, presented his side of the case.[68] The counsel for Owen Lovejoy was James H. Collins.[69]

In defense of the action of the citizens in carrying a fugitive away before the decision of the judge was given, Dr. Dyer, sometimes termed the president of the Underground Railroad,[70] and J. H. Collins,[71] spoke in a mass meeting of the citizens. Collins gave a brief statement of the case, pointing out that all laws contrary to Divine Law are null and void and that while State officers may act in the capacity of slave-hunters where no State law prohibits it, the act would be purely voluntary on their part and not their legal duty.[72]

Following the official defiance of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 by the Common Council of Chicago, there was a public meeting endorsing the action of the Council October 22, 1850. Among the names serving on the Committee on Resolutions at this meeting, one finds Lemuel C. Freer,[73] George Mannierre, and Isaac Arnold. The spokesmen were Collins, Dr. Dyer, Larned, and Mannierre. The forceful but rather sensational manner in which Collins addressed the people shows the degree of his convictions on this subject. His first words were, "Honor, eternal honor to the Chicago Common Council. Damnation eternal to those who voted for or dodged the vote on the infamous slave bill. The men who voted for it are bad; the men who sneaked away to avoid the responsibility of representing their constituents are both bad and base."[74] The following evening, October 23, Stephen A. Douglas, who had happened at the meeting where the framers of the Fugitive Slave Bill were denounced by James Collins, answered the challenge by defending the law. He swayed the people by his oratory and logic to the extent that they adopted the resolutions he had framed.[75] Friday evening, October 25, the largest meeting of the year was held to answer Douglas' speech and resolutions. The principal speech of the evening was delivered by Edwin C. Larned in which he said that the law, although designed to carry out the provisions of the Constitution, was in itself unconstitutional, since it denied the rights of habeas corpus and trial by jury, providing a dif-

[67] The following is an example of the kind of account which is given, "Seven colored fugitives from slavery passed through this city yesterday morning, and are by this time safe in the Queen's dominions.' Chicago *Daily Democrat*, August 10, 1859.

[68] Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*, p. 283.

[69] *Western Citizen*, October 26, 1843.

[70] *Western Citizen*, December 22, 1846.

[71] Collins was a lawyer who came to Chicago in the fall of 1833. He entered into partnership with Judge John D. Caton in 1834. He was especially strong as a pleader, and was an uncompromising slavery man who often aided runaways. Bateman and Selby, *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois*, p. 113.

[72] *Western Citizen*, November 3, 1846.

[73] Lemuel C. Freer came to Chicago in 1836. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1840. Bateman and Selby, *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois*, p. 176.

[74] Mann, *The Chicago Common Council and the Fugitive Slave Law of* 1850, p. 73.

[75] Ibid., pp. 74–80.

ferent mode of trial which is to be a summary and is to prove the question of slavery or freedom.[76]

As editors of the *Western Citizen,* Zebina Eastman and Hooper Warren were champions of the fugitive, giving the Underground Railroad process some appearance of organization by means of engendering the spirit of cooperation. The exchange of information concerning the activity of the Underground Railroad by the Chicago papers and the papers of the whole State enabled readers to see that their effort to aid a slave was but one step in a continuous process. East man's association with anti-slavery journalism did not begin with the *Western Citizen.* In Vermont he established the *Free Press.* After he came west he worked first on the *Peoria Register* and finally with Hooper Warren, who also had had much previous experience, began the publications of the *Genius of Liberty.* In 1842, at the invitation of some prominent abolitionists, one of whom was Philo Carpenter, they moved the paper to Chicago, where it was issued under the name *Western Citizen,* later changed to the *Free West.*[77]

IV. METHODS.

The conductors on this road not only had to avoid the penalties of the law, but they were held in contempt and suspicion by many of their neighbors. Governor Ford in 1843 characterized the fugitive's friends as "the fanatical misguided sect called Abolitionists" who received no encouragement from the people of Illinois. He also said that ninety-nine out of every hundred of the citizens look with indignation and abhorence upon the conduct of an incendiary and misguided few who have interfered, and are disposed to continue to interfere with the right of the people of Missouri to a class of persons there made private property by the Constitution and laws of your State."[78] Very little evidence would in the nature of the case be left concerning the kinds of methods employed by the leaders in conveying the fugitive onward. One has to rely chiefly on personal reminiscences of the leaders for the interesting details of their adventurous and daring exploits. Secrecy was absolutely necessary.

The hostility of Jacob Knightlinger, a justice of the peace in Knox County, was an example of what the abolitionist incurred when aiding a fugitive.[79] About the year 1840 he observed a wagon-load of negroes being taken in the direction of the home of John Cross, a man who made no secret of his principles. Knightlinger with several of his friends investigated the Cross premises and found that their suspicions proved true. By their action, John Cross was indicted for harboring and secreting fugitives. In contrast to the people who aided the fugitive, there were men whose practice was to pursue slaves and deliver them to agents, doubtless to receive the reward. In the neighborhood of Wilmington, Will County, there was a Dick Cox who drove a pedlar's wagon

[76] Mann, The Chicago Common Council and the fugitive slave law of 1850, p. 5.
[77] Bateman and Selby, *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois,* pp. 145, 577.
[78] Thomas Ford, Governor of Illinois, to Thomas Reynolds, Governor of Missouri, April 13, 1843, *Governors Letter-Books,* 1840-1853. (Illinois Historical Collections Vol. 7.)
[79] Harris, *Negro Slavery in Illinois,* p. 106.

and professed to be engaged in the business of capturing slaves. In 1846 he with David Masters captured two slaves, took them to the justice of the peace and put them in jail before the people were up. A warrant of commitment was directed to the sheriff of Will County "in the name of the people of Illinois," stating that Elizabeth Freeman and others were accused of being runaway slaves and therefore requiring said sheriff to take their bodies and commit them to jail, there to remain until discharged by due process of law. Sheriff Brodie with the aid of some lawyers examined the warrant. They decided that it was invalid and therefore he was not legally bound to act.[80] As soon as people of the type of Cox and Masters heard of the presence of fugitives they would procure a warrant from some "over-persuaded justice of the peace" and would search the homes of those under suspicion. S. G. Wright's home in Stark County was searched at nine o'clock at night by the constable at the instigation of two slave hunters, White and Gordon.[81] The disapproval of the whole community of Jacksonville was directed toward the actions of Julius Willard, and of three students of Illinois College, Samuel Willard, William Carter and J. C. Coleman, who attempted to assist a slave to escape. In order to show the public that their town had not endorsed the action of the abolitionists, the people held a meeting, February 23, 1843, in which they resolved that since they believed that there existed regular bands of abolitionists organized to run negroes through the State, they would form an Anti-Negro Stealing Society to break up this movement.[82]

Various methods were used by the abolitionists in their endeavor to aid the slave. The fugitives usually travelled in groups of two or three, sometimes a family escaped, but with great danger of recapture. It was necessary to conceal the fugitive until suspicion cleared away, for often the slave-owner or agent was close upon his quarry and both the pursued and pursuer would be in the same neighborhood. Samuel Cushing of Wilmington, Will County, concealed fugitives in the upper room of his cabin during the day until they could travel at night.[83] A hollow hayrick with a blind entrance was used by Deacon Jirah Platt of Mendon, Adams County, for a place of hiding.[84] The story still circulates in Galesburg, Knox County, concerning the use of the gallery of the old First Church as a place of refuge for fugitives who were being aided by members of that church.[85] Clothing for men, women and children was kept in readiness for the bedraggled negro who had escaped with only the clothes on his back.[86]

When one stops to consider the long distance the negro had to travel, it is not surprising that he made use of the first horse or boat available. The fugitives were encouraged in the practice by the abolitionists. A runaway negro who was taken care of by an abolitionst in

[80] *Western Citizen*, August 25, 1846.
[81] Ibid., February 23, 1847.
[82] Rammelkamp, *Illinois College and the Anti-Slavery Movement*, Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1908, p. 200.
[83] George H. Woodruff, *History of Will County*, p. 557.
[84] Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*, p. 63.
[85] Ibid, p. 64.
[86] Susan Short May, historian of the Rochelle Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, in a story of her early life in Illinois, relates that when she was a child "The Underground Railroad had a station in Bristol. At Mrs. Wheeler's I used to see clothing for men, women, and children kept in readiness when they should stop on their way North to Canada." *Illinois Histroical Society Journal*, Vol. 6, No. I, April, 1913, p. 127.

the vicinity of Jacksonville until he was able to travel was advised to take the first horse he could find. He did so, and the owner of the horse was afterwards apprized of its whereabouts and assured of its return.[87] It was not always possible to return such property, hence the abolitionists were confronted with a question of ethics. Both Lovejoy and Codding considered this case parallel to that of a victim in the captivity of Indians who is not stealing when he takes the means of escape.[88] Where there was a party of two or three fugitives, they were often loaded into a wagon and conveyed to the next station. Dilly and Parker of Knox County disguised their load of negroes by hiding them under oat-straw.[89] Some of the fugitives were fortunate enough to smuggle on board north-bound steamboats on the Mississippi River, thus escaping to Northern Illinois, where they were sure of aid in reaching Chicago.

From the material examined, one finds only evidence of the use of the Illinois Central and Michigan Central Railroads.[90] The *Western Citizen* reported in 1859, which is a safe date, that two negroes had arrived on the Illinois Central.[91] Cairo, however, denied that the railroad was a means of escape, having in mind that its management had been accused of complicity in the Underground Railroad. The *City Times* said, "The Illinois Central is no Underground Railroad affair and has no Underground Railroad connections.[92] This may have been true that it was not a part of the process, consciously, but nevertheless slaves in disguise may have managed to travel without being arrested. As early as 1854 fifteen fugitives from Missouri were shipped off from Chicago to Canada on the Michigan Central Railroad.[93] Although there may have been less hardship in this method of travel, there was a far greater chance of being arrested. The following incident illustrates the danger of detection when escaping on a railroad. A fugitive who was the property of a Mrs. Bohdecker of Vicksburg had escaped from the steamer "Kate Frisbie," on which boat he had been employed. He came to Cairo on the steamer Southern, and intended to make his way north on the Illinois Central Railroad, but he lost his chances of freedom shortly after he had entered the State, for he was arrested on the train just as it was ready to leave Cairo for Chicago.[94]

The work of the Chicago Underground Railroad conductors was to help the fugitives secure passage on Canada bound vessels. This opportunity for freedom proved too tempting for the trusty slave whom Uriah Hinch brought with him to Chicago to help him identify a fugitive. He deserted his master, escaped on board a steamer and sailed for Canada.[95] The St. Louis *Reveille* printed an interesting letter from

[87] Chicago *Daily Democrat*, March 9, 1850.
[88] *Western Citizen*, July 26, 1842, Ibid., July 3, 1845.
[89] *History of Knox County*, p. 211.
[90] Harris questions Siebert's theory that railroads were used for transporting fugitives. He says that before 1850 there were none in operation, and in the period of 1850-1860 he finds no evidence of their use for this purpose. According to Siebert, three railroads were used, the Chicago and Rock Island from Peru, LaSalle County, to Chicago, the Illinois Central from Cairo and Centralia to Chicago, and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy to Chicago.
[91] Chicago *Daily Democrat*, December 15, 1859.
[92] Cairo *City Times*, August 4, 1854.
[93] *Free West*, December 14, 1854.
[94] Cairo *City Gazette*, March 29, 1859.
[95] *Western Citizen*, October 29, 1850.

a Harry Ryan of Chicago, who purported to be concerned about the slave property of the Missourians and solicited funds from them to aid him in the work of preventing negroes from embarking on the steamboats. He reported that four slaves were run off upon the Great Western with Captain Walker's knowledge, for after the boat left the wharf Dr. Dyer, a prominent Underground Railroad conductor, stated that he had placed a slave whom he had rescued on board with three others.[96] Some of the captains were hostile, but the Illinois, which ran between Chicago and Detroit, with Mr. Blake as captain, was considered safe for Canada-bound passengers.[97]

The sympathetic interest in the slave was not always confined to the occasional aid given to the fugitive. It was often expressed in a bolder manner by rescuing slaves from the owner or a kidnapper.[98] The extraordinary events related by Levi North give one an example of an exciting rescue case at Princeton. Two villainous looking men were seen in the vicinity of a rum shop, the New York House. During the day they made arrangements with Milo Kendall, a pro-slavery man, to defend them. The next morning, armed, they went just out of town to a meadow of a farmer named Matson, where they found John Bucknor, a colored man, mowing. He submitted to them and with his hands tied was led to the barroom of the New York House. But he was not alone long, for soon the fearless Owen Lovejoy with other companions was by his side. A warrant charging the kidnappers with riot was drawn up and all were marched off to the court house by the sheriff, The question was how to liberate John legally from his captive. It was decided that since they had taken the negro by no legal process, he should be set free. The rowdies, finding that his friends were likely to release him, resolved to use force. A wagon was placed in readiness for their use, but their plans were overheard and the constable and sheriff were informed. In accordance with the plans of John's enemies, the owner of the wagon rushed in, saying with a loud voice that he was authorized to take John before another magistrate and siezed him. Instantly a row commenced. John's rope was severed, and he was hurried down the stairs by his friends.

The door was closed by Levi North to keep the rowdies in. In the meantime John ran, followed by Owen Lovejoy, with more of his friends ahead of him. After running about thirty yards he was tripped up, but recovering his balance he ran on until he was met by a man who knew his predicament and gave him a horse. He finally brought up

[96] *Western Citizen*, October 16, 1845.
[97] Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*, p. 83.
[98] In order to avoid violating the law of the land the freedom of the fugitive slave was sometimes purchased by their friends. The citizens of Alton, rather than see a colored girl, Amanda Cheeser, return to slavery, raised twelve hundred dollars, purchased and freed her. Springfield *Journal*, January 21,1853. The colored citizens held a public meeting at the African Baptist Church to pass resolutions thanking their white friends for befriending the girl. Alton *Daily Courier*, January 26, 1853. Two months later in the Alton *Daily Courier* this item appeared, "In order that the people of Central Illinois may keep posted upon the prices of negroes and know how much to pay hereafter when raising money to pay for the fugitive, we will publish from time to time notices of sales and prices." Ibid., March 1, 1853, p. 2. This is not a sarcastic comment, for at the time of the rescue in this same paper it was stated that the *Courier* stood for the laws of the country, but it was glad that the fugitive slave's freedom was purchased by her friends.

at Lovejoy's home "where at some time to the world unknown he took to the cars."[99]

The abolitionists of Sparta armed themselves and threatened to attack a band of Missourians if they made any effort to recover a fugitive hiding there. Needless to say, the slave hunters returned home without their property.[100] An abduction of two negro apprentices boy and girl, was frustrated by the indignant villagers of Wilmington, Will County, who rushed forth to rescue the helpless. The kidnappers were terrified and pleaded faithfully never to come again.[101]

The colored population of Chicago was always ready to relieve a slave owner of his property. Stephen A. Nuckles of Nebraska City caused the arrest of a colored girl whom he claimed as his slave. When she was being taken before the Justice a conflict occurred between him and a lot of negroes, the result being the escape of the girl.[102] They had the advantage of seeing the fugitive whom they had rescued, immediately embark for Canada.

V. ILLINOIS AND THE FUGITIVE IN CANADA.

Assistance of the fugitive involved an understanding of his ultimate destination even when there was no knowledge of the existence of the more remote stations. Canada meant liberty, hence the fugitive was following the direction of the North Star, enroute by the Underground Railroad for freedom's domain. Therefor the question naturally arises as to whether there was any cooperation between the fugitive's friends in Illinois and the organizations in Canada which were helping the fugitive to adjust himself to freedom. The *Western Citizen* as the organ of the abolition movement in Illinois, served to disseminate all available information concerning the fugitive slave; through its columns, therefore, these organizations made their appeal for support. In order to make this appeal more concrete, they told of the location establishment and progress of their missions.

In answer to inquiries relative to Dawn Mission, made by the editors of the *Western Citizen*, Eastman and McClelland, Hiram Wilson wrote September 15, 1849, concerning the beginning of his work. His services in this refuge began October, 1836. He first served under the auspices of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New York. His agency for this society ceased, but his services as a missionary were continued until the Canada Mission became extensively known to the public. It became necessary to introduce other missionaries for the destitute refugees who were scattered through the province. These were all under his care as a general agent and itinerant missionary. As a pioneer in the field, it devolved upon him to prepare the way and

[99] *Western Citizen*, July 17, 1849.

[100] This is an exchange from the *Cape Girardeau Eagle*, a Missouri paper which also says, "We understand that several negroes belonging to persons in Missouri, are harbored in Sparta and the neighborhood by three villains, and efforts should be made to recover them." Belleville *Advocate*, September 25, 1851.

[101] *Western Citizen*, December 4, 1849. The citizens of Urbana and LaSalle rescued negroes from kidnappers. Urbana *Union*, September 14, 1854; *Free West*, July 20, 1854.

[102] Aurora *Beacon Supplement*, November 15, 1860.

introduce some seventy other persons. For more than three years previous to 1842 he resided in the city of Toronto. As a resting-place and temporary home of the fugitive, his home was greatly thronged.[103]

In 1842, a convention of colored people called to decide upon the expenditure of some fifteen thousand dollars collected by a Quaker, James C. Fuller, in England. They decided to start a manual labor school and to locate it at Dawn.[104] According to Wilson, they purchased three hundred acres of improved land in the township of Dawn at the head of the navigation of the Sydenham River and commenced clearing, planting, and educating.[105] Wilson changed the direction of his labors and location from Toronto to Dawn for the purpose of settling these families and heading the interests of Christian education in their midst with emphasis on the Industrial Manual System. From a small beginning of some forty persons their numbers increased to three hundred.[106]

J. E. Ambrose, of Elgin, Illinois, who was evidently in communication with Canadian missionaries,[107] contributed information to the *Western Citizen* concerning the people. His purpose may have been to show the negroes the opportunities for securing land cheaply, and the advantages of living in Canada. In 1820 General Simcoe, Governor General of Canada, requested his home government to lay out a township of land on Lake Simcoe. This land, bordering on Owen's Sound was not offered to colored persons exclusively, but by improving it, they could have fifty acres and the privilege of buying fifty acres more. In 1820, twelve families made a commencement. By 1839 there were thirty-three families. The land was good and the timber superior. In 1851, some colored persons were going up and making an effort to settle. To what extent these negroes were fugitives can not be said, but one would imagine that those who would undertake this proposition were negroes who had been in Canada for some time and had become somewhat independent financially.

In 1824, four hundred sixty persons contracted with the Canada Company for a township near London and were to pay for it in ten years. It was thickly settled and was called Wilberforce settlement.

Twelve miles south of Chatham, William King established a colony called King's Settlement. King, a Presbyterian minister, formerly a slaveholder in the South freed his slaves, went to Canada, and bought a large tract of land in company with others. This land, divided into lots of fifty acres, was sold to colored men at two dollars and fifty cents per acre with 6 per cent interest. The first payment down was twelve dollars and fifty cents.

At Sandwich on the Detroit River and Lake Erie there were large settlements. Besides the settlements on Lake Simcoe at Wilberforce,

[103] *Western Citizen*, October 2, 1849. Canada Mission, Dawn Mills, September 15, 1849. Reverend Hiram Wilson to Eastman and McClellan, editors of the *Western Citizen*.
[104] Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*, p. 105.
[105] *Western Citizen*, October 2, 1849.
[106] Ibid., p. 1, c. 3.
[107] In 1853 Ambrose received an appeal from Chatham, Canada West, saying that they are in great straits and need immediate help. *Western Citizen*, February 18, 1851.

King's Settlement at Buxton and Sandwich, there were several scattered over various parts of Canada.[108]

From the report of Hanson, a colored agent for the self-emancipation of slaves, which was made before the Congregational societies of Chicago, one gains further information concerning the fugitive in Canada. He states that the number of settlers in the missions with those who were living independently was estimated at fifteen thousand in 1845. All came from different states by different processes. Some had been there fifteen years, but the majority had come in the period of the forties. In the vicinity of Dawn, the population was scattered over a territory one hundred miles in length by sixty miles in breadth, the south point being forty miles above Detroit, Michigan, on the east side of the river. This distribution of the settlers made it difficult for Wilson, a missionary, to reach them all. There were one thousand people in this district, the number in the mission being three hundred.[109]

A statistical report of the colored population in Canada, published in the African repository at Washington, which computed the number at five thousand, was questioned by Wilson in his letter to the *Western Citizen* of October 2, 1849. This professed to be an official census as taken in 1817, but Wilson denied the fact that such a census had ever been taken, for neither he nor the negroes knew of it. When he travelled through Canada in 1837, from the best information he could get, he computed the negroes at ten thousand. At a convention of negroes in 1840, they estimated their numbers at twelve thousand five hundred. The increase by birth and immigration could not have been less than one thousand annually; therefore, if carefully numbered, they could not be much less than twenty thousand.[110]

Hanson in his report says that the location of Dawn was the best in the province. The land was extremely fertile, producing wheat, oats, corn, rye and tobacco, all of which found a ready market in Detroit and the neighboring towns and settlements.[111] Many of the colonists owned tracts of ten, fifteen and twenty acres, mostly under cultivation, while others more enterprising, became prosperous farmers.[112] In an article signed by a certain E. Smith, some negroes were worth thousands of dollars. Their condition was much better than in the United States.[113]

When the fugitives first came, they were like children, easily discouraged in clearing up the land. For the first four or five years they were thriftless, because in slavery they had been accustomed to having their work planned for them. When they came to Canada, where they were forced to arrange their plans for themselves, they were confused at first, but after a time they became industrious and good citizens.[114] Wil-

[108] *Western Citizen*, February 18, 1851. Contributed by J. E. Ambrose, Elgin, Illinois.

[109] *Western Citizen*, March 6, 1845.

[110] *Western Citizen*, October 2, 1849. Hiram Wilson to *Western Citizen*.

Howe comes to the conclusion that blacks were included in the whites column. In the census of 1860, the number of colored residents of Toronto was given as five hundred ten. George A. Barker, secretary of the Board of School Trustees, furnished a certified copy of the number of colored residents, which amounted to nine hundred thirty-four. The Mayor of London, Canada West, estimated the number of families among colored population at seventy-five, but the census made it only thirty-six. S. G. Howe. *Report on the Refugees from Slavery in Canada West*, p. 16.

[111] *Western Citizen*, March 6, 1845. Hanson's report taken from *Congregational Journal*.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Ibid., March 15, 1849, p. 2, c. 6. E. Smith "Freed Slaves—How They Prosper."

[114] Ibid.

son said that the improved conditions of these settlers in Dawn and its vicinity was noticed and commended by many men of good standing in that part of Canada, among whom was the High Sheriff, who was a "very observing man."[115] It must have been encouraging for the friends of the fugitive in Illinois to learn that in Canada, in contrast to the United States, the negroes engaged in more responsible employment, hence they were more respected. Few were to be seen working in taverns.[116]

The fugitives wished to consider themselves self-sufficient. They resented being considered as objects of charity, for they wanted their former masters to know that they considered their condition bettered through freedom, and that they had no desire to resume their life in slavery.[117] The picture of a lazy, poor, starving community for whom annual donations of clothing were necessary to keep them from suffering was regarded a great injustice. According to a correspondent of the *True Wesleyan,* in a convention of the fugitives at Drummondsville they passed resolutions requesting their friends in the States to send no more clothing to Canada, except for newcomers and the schools.[118]

Although the fugitives were able to eke out a living from the soil, they were pitifully ignorant and needed education to enable them to utilize the advantages of freedom in Canada. This responsibility was borne with difficulty by the missionaries. Of three hundred negroes Hanson saw collected at a religious meeting, not one could read or write, and neither could he, himself, a Methodist preacher, until he was instructed by his little boy. He reported that there was an attempt being made to erect a seminary at the cost of two thousand dollars, in which two hundred negro children and youth could be instructed.[119] At Amherstburg, where Isaac Rice was doing mission work, they built a school for eighty scholars.[120] In the winter of 1848, Wilson had a school of sixty scholars. In addition, his wife instructed the girls in letters and needlework. On her sewing days, the house was thronged with girls and mothers to the number of thirty, who had come from distances of two and three miles.[121] King, in his settlement, had a school which he used also for religious worship.[122]

In spite of the fact that the people were assured that Canada was a safe refuge for the slave, in 1843, the people became alarmed at the fugitive clause in the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. It was agreed in the treaty "that the United States and Her Britannic Majesty shall, upon mutual requisitions by them, or their ministers, officers, authorities, respectively made, deliver up to justice all persons, who being charged with the crime of murder, or piracy, or arson, or robbery, or forgery, or the utterance of forged paper, committed within the jurisdiction of

[115] *Western Citizen* October 2, 1849, p. 1, c. 3. Hiram Wilson to *Western Citizen.*
[116] Ibid., March 15, 1849. E Smith.
[117] *Western Citizen,* March 15, 1849.
[118] Ibid., March 13, 1849.
One of the objects of the "True Bands" organized by negroes was to put a stop to "begging," that is, going to the United States and misrepresenting their condition, raising large sums of money, the benefit of which the fugitives never received. The first Band was in Malden, September, 1854. Benjamin Drew, *A North-Side View of Slavery,* p. 236.
[119] Ibid., March 6, 1845.
[120] Ibid., October 9, 1849. Canada Mission, Amherstburg, September 27, 1849. Isaac Rice to the Editors of the *Western Citizen.*
[121] *Western Citizen,* October 23, 1849. Hiram Wilson.
[122] Ibid., February 18, 1851. J. E. Ambrose, Elgin, Illinois.

either, shall seek an asylum, or shall be found within the territories of the other * * *."[123] In order to show the true attitude toward the slave, the interpretations of Lords Aberdeen, Brougham and Ashburton were published in the *Western Citizen*. In the course of the discussion in the British House of Lords upon the motion of the Earl of Aberdeen for a second reading of the bill relating to the apprehension of the fugitive from justice, under the treaty, his lordship remarked that it had been supposed that under this bill fugitive slaves would be given up, but there was no intention of introducing any such provision. To escape from slavery was no crime; on the contrary, the condition of the slave endeavoring to escape was to be regarded with much sympathy. He knew it had been said that a fugitive slave was guilty of robbery in carrying off the clothes he had on, which were the property of the one who claimed to be the owner of the slave, but to take such clothes was no theft. Neither was it a theft to take anything which would aid him in his flight, as a horse or boat. Lord Brougham agreed with his explanation, and said that it need not be included in the bill. According to Lord Ashburton, it was now a settled fact that a slave arriving in British territory, under any circumstances never could be claimed or rendered liable to personal service.[124]

Further assurance was gained by the reply of Lord Ashburton to Thomas Clarkson, President of the British Anti-Slavery Society of England. When Clarkson first knew of the treaty which the bill before the Parliament was designed to execute, he foresaw that the masters of the slaves in southern states would avail themselves of it to reclaim the fugitives in Canada. Lord Ashburton, however, told him that the treaty would not act in that way, for if it did it would be dissolved. Clarkson feared that the section in which it would be possible for a slave to be given up for robbery, might be construed to mean petty thefts, such as taking the means of escape. This fear was answered by saying that the use of a boat or any means of escape is not a theft. Fugitives will only be delivered up for crimes mentioned in the treaty.[125]

A memorial was addressed to the Congress of United States relative to the fugitive slave in which a request was made that negotiations be instituted between the government of the United States and Great Britain to provide for some satisfactory mode of preventing the escape of slaves into British possessions, and for their apprehension and redelivery after they have crossed the northern lakes. The *Western Citizen* showed its faith in the British Government by answering that evidently Congress is ignorant of Great Britain's attitude toward fugitive slaves, for when an attempt was made to insert such a clause, Lord Ashburton would not listen.[126]

The settlements for the negroes depended upon voluntary contributions. In 1849, they needed money and needed it badly. The emphasis

[123] House Documents, Volume I., U. S. 27th Congress, Session 3, 418.
[124] *Western Citizen*, August 10, 1843. "British Treaty—Fugitive Slaves."
[125] Thomas Clarkson to his Excellency, Sir Charles Metcalfe, Bart., Governor General of Canada. Clarkson especially emphasized the point that England was watching with anxiety the outcome of the treaty when it comes into operation, and that they would be grateful for any act of humanity shown on the part of his Excellency toward these unfortunate people. *Western Citizen*, December 18, 1843.
[126] *Western Citizen*, February 2, 1847.

was placed upon the need of funds for the establishment and support of schools. In August of 1849, Hiram Wilson appealed to the people of Illinois through the *Western Citizen* for aid. It was recommended by the newspaper that the pastors of the churches advocate the cause and take up contributions to aid the mission, and that the Ladies Anti-Slavery Society convert their means into money which was needed. This evidently had not been the first appeal, for in the same paper, Wilson acknowledged the receipt of "Your very welcome and encouraging letter of June 23, also the thirteen dollars you enclosed for the purpose of paying the freightage on a box and barrel of clothing you forwarded at that time."[127]

The call for help also came from Isaac Rice of Amherstburg. For three months they had been unable to do mission work. Because of lack of funds, they could not pay the freight on boxes sent to them with relief for the fugitives. Clothing was especially necessary at Amherstburg, for it was a fugitive station where nearly all the slaves landed. All money received had been put into finishing and paying for a school and mission house. Some of the uses for the money were a house instead of an open shed to be used for a kitchen, washhouse, wood room, cellar or roothouse, the upper part for a store room, where wheat, corn, oats, or flour could be stored, for sickness, funerals, freight bills, and a garden. Over fifty slaves had come to them in the past summer, and these and more in the future would have to be boarded until rested. To meet these expenses three hundred dollars were asked for.[128]

Dawn Mission, due to defective management was burdened with debt in 1849. As a result there was no surplus left from the annual income for the cause of education. One hundred fifty dollars were necessary to bring up arrears, and Wilson's plea was "Could we have three hundred dollars. We are dependent upon voluntary support."[129]

Wilson came to Illinois in November, 1849, on business connected with his work among the fugitives. His purpose was to visit the State and spend a few weeks soliciting contributions.[130] Among the communities responding, one finds counties and towns which were prominent in giving aid to the fugitives: Aurora, Kane County; Bristol, Kendall County; Joliet, Will County. Some leaders of the Underground Rail-

[127] *Western Citizen*, August 21, 1849. Dawn Mills, Canada West, August 10, 1849. Hiram Wilson to Eastman and McClellan, editors of the *Western Citizen*.

[128] *Western Citizen*, October 9, 1849. Canada Mission, Amherstburg, September 27, 1849. Isaac Rice to the Editors of the *Western Citizen*.

[129] *Western Citizen*, October 23, 1849. Dawn Mills, Canada West, October 13, 1849. Hiram Wilson to Eastman and McClellan, editors of the *Western Citizen*.

[130] The results of his work were published in the *Western Citizen* at the request of Wilson, who said "Please have the kindness to insert in your paper the following acknowledgment of receipts in aid of the Dawn Mission to refugee slaves in Canada West. For reasons which I have not time to state, my receipts have been small, as the aggregate of three weeks of incessant toil will show, but those who have contributed from pure love to Christ and humanity, to help and sustain Samaritan like services will please accept the sincere thanks of their faithful and devoted servant, Hiram Wilson."

Receipts—*Aurora, Kane County*, Congregational Church, $2.80; *Bloomingdale*, $1.37; *Batavia*, $1.35; *Bristol, Kendall County*, $4.66; Ladies Anti-Slavery Society per Mrs. McClellan, $2; Mrs. McClellan, $.50; Rev. W. Beardsley, 50c; Rev. Farnham, $2.50; *Chicago*, First Presbyterian Church, $14.80; ——$6.16; Baptist Tabernacle, $2.87; C. B. Nelson, $1; J. B. D., $1; Mrs. Bates, $1; Mrs. Stuart, $.38; O. Davidson $1; Cash, $4; J. H. Collins, $5; Mrs. Laflin, $1; Mr. Downs, $1; Isaac Clay, $1; W. Johnson, $.94; H. Smith, $1; Cash, $1; Mrs. Creary, $.25; P. Carpenter (box of candles), $2; J. Johnston, (1 coat), $7; *Dundee*, Kane County, Congregational Church, $5; *Elgin*, $14; Mrs. H. Gifford, $1; *Orangeville*, Dupage County, $1.25; *Joliet*, Will County, G. H. Woodruff, $1; H. P. Marsh, $.50; R. Hanse, $.53; Mr. Haven, $1; Lockport; O. R. Gooding, $5; C. Butler, $.50; W. S. Mason, $11; *Plainfield*, $3.30; Mrs. Royce and family, $1; Mrs. Pratt, $.50; *Genoa*, by letter through Abner Jackman, $6.50. Total—$105.97. New Buffalo, November 27, 1849. Hiram Wilson. *Western Citizen*, December 4, 1849.

road are among the donors: J. H. Collins and Philo Carpenter of Chicago, and Haven of Will County. These places and these people, however, were all in the vicinity of Chicago, which was confessedly anti-slavery in sentiment. No doubt in the three weeks Wilson did not have sufficient time to tour the whole State. It may be taken for granted that Chicago would be the first place visited, and that response would be given to his appeal. The evidence would be more conclusive if the contributing localities were scattered and less in communication with Chicago, the terminus of the Underground Railroad. Nevertheless, this is evidence of the refugee's friends in Canada cooperating with his friends in Illinois, both through an anti-slavery paper, the *Western Citizen,* which is the source of information concerning the fugitive in Canada, and in the person of a missionary, Hiram Wilson.

After seeing how little was contributed in response to the appeal of Wilson, it may be asked if all this discussion of the Canadian situation in the *Western Citizen,* which was obviously to gain financial support, was of any importance in relation to the Underground Railroad. It is probable that with a clearer idea of the destination of the fugitive, and also with a small part in the support of the missions, the abolitionists realized their obligations toward the negro more deeply, and thus became more active in the Underground Railroad.

VI. DEGREE OF ORGANIZATION AND MOTIVE.

Judging from the facts concerning the Underground Railroad, it is easily seen that while there was no formal organization, there was a practical organization suited for the emergency of the moment and based on the cooperation of neighbors. A terminology analagous to that of a railroad system sprang up in connection with this secret process.[131] While it served to mystify the public,[132] it may have thrown a glamour over the whole movement, thus having the psychological effect of making the conductors feel that they really were a part of a well organized system. They may have realized that while each one was cooperating only with his sympathetic neighbor, there was a series of such neighbors who made it their business to see that the fugitive progressed one step nearer Canada.

A splendid illustration of the assumption of a well organized system in Underground Railroad activities is to be found in the report of the *Western Citizen* of September, 1846, that "the Northwest branch of the great subterranean thoroughfare has been doing brisk business the present season and we understand that the stock is several per cent above par. A dividend will probably be declared soon.[133] Peter Stewart shared the honor of being called "President of the Underground Railroad," with Dr. Dyer of Chicago. At a meeting of the Liberty Associa-

[131] The following is a typical report of the activity of the Underground Railroad expressed in this terminology. "A fugitive took his departure for a free country in the direction of the North Star, via the Underground Railroad, which is in good running order." Aurora *Guardian,* February 23, 1853.

[132] An advertisement of the readiness of people to help the fugitives to gain freedom appeared in the following mystifying style, "Old line of stage to Canada via Mt. Hope. Proprietors of above line inform public that they are prepared to accommodate colored men, women, and children who wish to emigrate to Canada, with free passage, as they are determined not to be outdone by any other line.....John Morse, Agent, McLean County, September, 1844." *Western Citizen,* October 24, 1844.

[133] *Western Citizen,* September 15, 1846.

tion, Lemuel C. Freer announced that the President of the Underground Railroad would then declare a dividend to the stockholders. Dr. Dyer then arose and introduced to the meeting a "Southern gentleman," his wife and children, who had that day arrived on the cars, and who, he said, were a greater dividend than that of any other railroad company in the State.[134]

Orators like Owen Lovejoy and Ichabod Codding were sent around to encourage the people in different towns.[135] The murder of a fugitive by his pursuers aroused the community of Shelbyville to such an extent that Robert Rutherford, a correspondent of the *Western Citizen,* thought that "much good might be done by a lecturer" and advised that Lovejoy, Blanchard, or Cross come over.[136] It is easily inferred that the publication of a series of "Tales of Fugitives" was to stimulate the activity of the Underground Railroad. They were made effective by having the fugitive tell his own story. For example in a "Conversation with a Chattel" the negro says that although he had been told by white folks in the South that this was a poor country, very cold, the people mean, and that they could only make a living by stealing from one another, he thought that these people could not do any worse than steal all he had, as the southern people had done, so he decided to come up and see. The narrator ended his story by stating that this was the most intelligent piece of merchandise that had fallen in his way. He gave it a ticket on the Underground Railroad, and soon this tame beast found himself transformed into a man.[137]

The negro population of Chicago was organized to thwart all attempts to capture or kidnap a fugitive. September 30, 1850, they met at the African Methodist Church on Wells Street to take into consideration the course to pursue in case attempts should be made to arrest fugitives.[138] As a result of the meeting, they effected a colored police organization consisting of seven divisions which in turn were to patrol the city.[139]

The enemies of the fugitive fully realized the actual result of the Underground system when they said that "the state of insecurity is becoming greater every day * * * on account of a more perfect organization and concert of action of the anti-slavery men in Illinois."[140] The abolitionists of Farmington showed themselves capable of concerted action when they saw that two fugitives tracked by slave hunters were in danger of being captured. Jacob Knightlinger, Justice of the Peace, directed the pursurers on to Rochester. In the meantime the friends of the negroes at Farmington, having learned of the plan, "started to see if the cars were in readiness at Rochester and arrived just in time to

Wood up the fires and keep them flashing
While the train went onward dashing.

[134] *Western Citizen,* December 26, 1846.
[135] Carrie Prudence Kofoid, *Puritan Influence in the Formative Years of Illinois History; Transactions* of Illinois State Historical Society, 1905, p. 314.
[136] *Western Citizen,* September 25, 1849.
[137] Ibid., November 30, 1843.
[138] Chicago *Daily Journal,* October 3, 1850.
[139] Ibid., October 8, 1850.
[140] *Western Citizen,* February 2, 1847.

Four hours after this, along came the slave hunters, who searched the premises of two abolitionists and found no negroes.[141] Reverend Wright, one of these abolitionists, spoke of this incident in his journal on January 5, 1847. He said, "They searched our premises in vain, however, for the birds had flown, having got a wink from friends at Farmington that they were pursued."[142]

Between Galesburg, Andover, and Ontario the Underground Railroad worked efficiently. On one occasion Conductor Neely with four passengers from Galesburg arrived at the residence of Hod Powell at Ontario. After a partial night's lodging and a meal, Powell took his load to Andover, the next station.[143] The story of Erastus Mahan of McLean County gives one an example of a fugitive being piloted from one point to another. Two colored people got off the North-bound train of the Chicago and Alton Railroad in Lexington. They were directed to the home of his aunt, Widow Mahan. Here they frankly admitted they were runaway slaves. Mrs. Mahan sent for her nephew immediately. He took them to the house of S. S. Wright, about three miles from town where they remained until it was decided that the search was abandoned. John and Edward Mahan then carried them to the home of a man by the name of Richardson, who lived about nine miles south of Pontiac. They stayed there one night and were then sent on to Chicago.[144]

Organization seems to have resolved itself into two separate stages. In the first instance, the fugitive was given a meal, some clothing, and information as to the location of the next friendly house. In the second instance, the fugitive received the same attention, and in addition was piloted onward to the next station; when there was a party in close pursuit, the conductors acted more swiftly and showed a greater degree of cooperation.

The conductors made it a matter of conscience to aid the fugitive in any way, and if it was necessary, they felt it a moral obligation to help him on his way.[145] It was resolved by the Illinois Anti-Slavery Society "that we would earnestly entreat our brethern and fellow citizens, by all that is interesting in human relations, by all that is desirable in the favor of God * * * to extend a hand of kindness and hospitality in all things necessary for his escape, to every parting fugitive from the Southern prison house, who may come within reach of our benevolence.[146] The prevailing anti-slavery sentiment and the belief that such matters were subject to a higher law took the place of a machinery of formal organization. They were held together by the common vision of the goal toward which they were working, the freedom of the fugitive from slavery.

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141 *Western Citizen*, November 24, 1846. Quoted from the St. Louis *Era*.
142 *History of Knox County*, p. 426.
143 Ibid., p. 211.
144 Erastus Mahan, *Friends of Liberty on the Mackinaw*; *McLean County Historical Society Transactions*, Vol. I, p. 402.
145 *Western Citizen*, December 28, 1843.
146 Ibid., August 5, 1842.

A CELEBRATED ILLINOIS CASE THAT MADE HISTORY.

(By Stephen A. Day.)

In one sense, history is but the record of the growth of law. It is by the acts and deeds of men in the past upon which we build the structures of the future. Perhaps in no more enduring form are found these records than in the proceedings of our courts of law. Many adjudicated cases furnish the land-marks along the path of civilization, and in the history of this Nation no more striking example of the power and majesty of this great Democracy is to be found than in a great case which occurred in the State of Illinois a little more than twenty years ago.

In observing historical incidents, we are struck by the force of the climax, and sometimes are not equally conscious of the preceding and predisposing causes that lead up to the climax. We all recall the sorrows and the tragedies of the panic of 1893, when the whole nation was shaken to its foundations by a financial depression and reign of disorder and dissension theretofore unequaled in our annals. Coincident with such crises and springing therefrom, there often are seen the flames of social revolution and rebellion which theretofore were smoldering in the minds of the discontented.

As a part of the great industrial organization of the Pullman Company, a model town was constructed for the employees, with the idea of building up a plant sufficient unto itself, possessing solidarity and cooperation as factors in its strength. During the panic of 1893, those in charge of the affairs and management of the Pullman Company, because of the general business depression, came to the conclusion that they could not continue to carry on their pay rolls large numbers of employees who had been engaged in the construction of cars. These employees were accordingly laid off, and a general feeling of discontent arose among the workers in this industrial town. The employees demanded an increase in wages and claimed that because the rentals for their homes had not been lowered that the hard times prevailing required an increase in their pay. Those in charge of the Pullman Company refused the demands and insisted that as employers they would not arbitrate the points in dispute. In no way related to this dispute, and in no way affiliated with the wage earners at Pullman there was forming in the Nation an organization known as the American Railway Union, in which the moving spirit was Eugene V. Debs.

Among the strikers at Pullman was a woman of intense magnetism and powers of eloquence, with the gift to inspire her following like that

possessed by the Immortal Maid of Orleans. She requested an opportunity to address the members of the railway union to secure their aid, by way of a sympathetic strike, so as to render successful the strike of her fellow-workers at Pullman. This opportunity was afforded and the effect of her eloquence was electrical. The result was a demand by the railway union upon the general managers of the railways that they refuse to attach Pullman cars to their regular trains. This demand was promptly refused, and thereupon concerted action was taken under the leadership and management of Debs to incite the members of the railway union throughout the United States to refuse to permit the carriage and transportation of Pullman cars. This was the beginning of a nation-wide industrial disorder and violence, and almost immediately open conflicts occurred in almost every city in the Union. What had commenced as a simple industrial dispute involving a single employer and its employees, soon flamed into widespread social rebellion. It developed later that telegrams were sent by Debs and his followers at an expense of over $500 a day, and this was continued even after an injunction was imposed. The total amount thus expended was admitted to be between $4,000 and $6,000 for the telegrams sent between June 26 and July 27, 1894.

The acts of violence and destruction of property in and around Chicago are typical of what occurred in other parts of the United States. There was deliberate wrecking of a train on the Rock Island Railroad at Blue Island, Illinois. In the *Chicago Tribune* of July 1, 1894, in speaking of this incident, it is said:

"They broke the trains, drove passengers from the Pullmans, ransacked the buffet cars, destroying the provisions therein contained."

"The Diamond Special," a fine passenger train on the Illinois Central Railroad, was wrecked just south of Grand Crossing, the "strikers having removed spikes from rails, so that they spread and threw the engine from the track." About this time in a statement given to the press Debs threatened to call out the employees of the Western Union and Postal Telegraph Company, as well as all members of the typographical unions, so that the newspapers could not be printed. Whole trains full of passengers were held up for hours, and it is recalled that striking rioters shot at a moving train near Cincinnati, Ohio, with the object of killing a railway official who was on board. Freight cars were overturned on their tracks and general destruction of property became prevalent. Dangerous fires were caused in the stockyards, and at one time it was said that entire Packingtown would be burned up.

So long as the conflict remained private in character, both sides had large numbers of followers and sympathizers among the general public. It is interesting to note that at this time those who favored the side of Debs wore white ribbons in their button-holes, and an appeal was made similar to that existing during the French Revolution. Later on as the conflagration became more serious and it was seen that the strikers, frenzied by resistance, were getting to a point where the safety of the Nation was involved, those who favored a speedy termination of the trouble with the welfare of the great mass of our citizenship at

heart, wore the red, white and blue, in their button-holes. At this point it is well to add that Debs said to Judge Grosscup, who, together with Judge Woods, imposed an injunction against him and his followers, that but for the prompt action of the Federal Court, the United States would have been plunged into a state of disorder and insurrection that would have made the French Revolution seem tame by comparison. This illustrates the fact that violence and incendiarism is fanned into wide-spread conflagration like the wind blowing over a dry prairie. The time to act is when the fire is first lit, and when the means are at hand to prevent its spreading.

When it became apparent that the activities of Debs and the American Railway Union were seriously embarrassing the carrying of the United States mails, and the orderly movement and transportation of interstate commerce, it was decided to have the United States Government intervene to protect its interests and the rights of the public. On July 2, 1894, a bill for an injunction was filed on behalf of the United States by Richard Olney, at that time Attorney General, in the Federal Court at Chicago, praying for an injunction against acts which interfered with the carrying of the United States mails and the orderly movement of interstate commerce. Upon a hearing had before Judges Wood and Grosscup, the injunction order was issued and was given to the marshal to execute. At this time, as recited in the *Chicago Tribune* of July 2, 1894—

"A small army of deputies has been sworn in by the United States Marshal to enforce the legal action that will be taken by the Government. Large supplies of revolvers were purchased yesterday, and 150 riot guns will be delivered at the Marshal's office this morning. Deputies in large force are to be sent to the scene of every disturbance, actual or threatened. If they are found unable to cope with any situation that arises, the Marshal instantly will call upon the Government for military reinforcements. The troops at Ft. Sheridan are in readiness to move at a minute's notice. A special train of ten cars stands on the track at the fort ready to bring them into Chicago in half an hour."

When Deputy Allen attempted to read the injunction order to the strikers and cried out, "Let all give attention; we are going to read an order of the United States Court," everybody in the hearing of his voice hooted. Allen read the order distinctly and refused to be howled down. Upon the completion of his reading, shouts of "O, rats," and blasphemies were heard, such as "To hell with the United States Court," "Who is the United States Court?" the mob shouted. It was soon evident that the force of deputy marshals, several hundred in number, would not be sufficient to handle the situation. It is said in the press of that time:

"The situation early yesterday morning was critical. Marshal Arnold, United States Attorney Milchrist, Judge Grosscup and Special United States Commissioner Edwin Walker, met at the Government Building, and after a short consultation decided nothing but the presence of the fighting arm of Uncle Sam's Government would compel compliance with the court's order."

Thereupon Judge Grosscup communicated this fact to President Cleveland with the request that troops be immediately sent to quell the disturbance and to enforce the order of the court.

By a strange coincidence, with the dawn of the Fourth of July, 1894, the Fifteenth United States Infantry, two companies of the Seventh Cavalry, and a battery of the First Artillery, arrived in Chicago from Fort Sheridan, to teach Mr. Debs and those of his followers who trampled on the dignity of the United States Court, and scoffed at its order, assaulted its officers, and otherwise treated it with contempt, that the law of the land was made to be obeyed, and not violated under any conditions.

The situation was growing gradually worse, and was becoming more difficult to handle. To support the injunction proceeding which the Government had instituted, and in any event to put an end to further rioting, Judge Grosscup called a special grand jury and laid before them the question of indicting Debs and his followers as guilty of a conspiracy to violate a law of the United States by interfering with the carrying of its mails and the transportation and movement of interstate commerce, under the Federal conspiracy statute. About this time Debs issued a statement in which he said:

"The employees from the beginning have been willing to arbitrate their differences with the company. That is their position to-day. The company arrogantly declares that there is nothing to arbitrate. If this be true why not allow a board of fair and impartial arbitrators to determine the fact? * * * Let them agree as far as they can, and where they fail to agree let the points in dispute be submitted to arbitration."

On July 8, 1894, a proclamation was issued by President Cleveland calling attention to the seriousness of the situation, the need of protecting the Government against attack and interference, and notifying the people that the Federal troops had been called out with a definite object in mind, and that acts of violence must stop at once. As the pressure of the Government was extended Debs sought to incite greater numbers to join his allegiance. In some cases this was successful, but it is significant that many organizations and groups of laborers throughout the country refused to follow him, and went on record in opposition to his requests. It was charged that the strain of events, and the very enormity of the social upheaval had affected Deb's sanity. The fact is that as the strong arm of the Federal Government became felt an immediate sobering effect was had upon Debs and his followers, and they were counselled to refrain from violence and open disorder.

After the passage of time when we have become accustomed to the exercise of authority, we sometimes are forgetful of the fact that every precedent was forged from raw material. The Government of the United States had never before been put to such a test of asserting its rights and insuring respect for them. Not since the Civil War had the executive been called upon to uphold the supremacy of the National Government and the supreme law of the land. The real party involved in the celebrated case to which I refer was the Nation itself, and the

test of its strength was at hand. An interesting instance in this connection, and of considerable historical value, is that upon receipt of the telegram from Judge Grosscup, President Cleveland sent for his Secretary of State, Mr. Gresham, and his Attorney General, Mr. Olney, and the request for Federal troops was discussed. It is characteristic of President Cleveland that he said: "Send the troops at once; we can discuss the legal questions later on." It is also of great importance that in this critical event politics played no part. The judge of the Federal Court was a staunch Republican, and the President a staunch Democrat, but both were patriots first. Governor Altgeld of Illinois did not approve of the action of the President in sending Federal troops to maintain law and order, and severely criticized the action of President Cleveland in this regard. In response to Governor Altgeld's objections, President Cleveland insisted upon the right of the Federal Government to protect its rights and property at all times, and that it was sufficient unto itself to obtain obedience and respect for its orders and decrees. The communications passed between Governor Altgeld and the President clearly display the determination of the President to do something promptly and effectively and to leave discussion to follow after the law had been vindicated. This in itself furnishes a beautiful example of the true executive mind which is blessed with a facility to act, not to vacillate and hesitate.

When the special grand jury assembled, after referring to the fact that the jurors were about to discharge a great public duty, Judge Grosscup in his charge to them, laying the corner stone of what has since become the magnificent citadel of our national solidarity and splendid strength, used the following words:

"You have been summoned here to inquire whether any of the laws of the United States within this judicial district have been violated. You have come in an atmosphere and amid occurrences that may well cause reasonable men to question whether the government and laws of the United States are yet supreme. Thanks to resolute manhood and to that enlightened intelligence which perceives the necessity of vindication of law before any other adjustments are possible, the government of the United States is supreme. You doubtless feel as I do, that the opportunities of life, in the present conditions, are not perhaps entirely equal, and that changes are needed to forestall some of the tendencies of current industrial life; but neither the torch of the incendiary, nor the weapon of the insurrectionist, nor the inflamed tongue of him who incites to fire and the sword, is the instrument to bring about reforms. To the mind of the American people, to the calm, dispassionate, sympathetic judgment of a race that is not afraid to face deep charges and responsibilities, there has as yet been no adequate appeal. Men who appear as the advocates of great changes, must first submit them to discussion, discussion that reaches not simply the parties interested, but the wider circle of society, and must be patient as well as persevering until the public intelligence has been reached and the public judgment made up. An appeal to force before that hour is crime, not only against the government of existing laws, but against the cause itself; for what

man of any intelligence supposes that any settlement will abide which is induced under the light of the torch or the shadow of an overpowering authority?

With the questions behind present occurrences, therefore, we have, as ministers of the law and citizens of the Republic, nothing now to do. The law as it is must first be vindicated before we turn aside to inquire how the law or practice as it ought to be can be effectually brought about. Government of law is in peril and that issue is paramount."

After defining insurrection against the United States and the unlawfulness of interfering with the carrying of the United States mails and the orderly transportation of interstate commerce, Judge Grosscup said:

"When men gather to resist the civil or political power of the United States, or to oppose the execution of its laws and are in such force that the civil authorities are inadequate to put them down, and a considerable military force is needed to accomplish that result, they become insurgents, and every person who knowingly incites, aids or abets them, no matter what his motive may be, is likewise an insurgent. This penalty is severe, and as I have said, is designed to protect the Government and its authority against direct attack."

Judge Grosscup in the course of his charge has this to say with reference to the industrial relations of employer and employees:

"I recognize, however, the right of Labor to organize. Each man in America is a freeman, and so long as he does not interfere with the rights of others has the right to do with that which is his what he pleases. In the highest sense a man's arm is his own, and aside from contract relations no one but himself can direct when it shall be raised to work or dropped to rest. The individual option to work or to quit is the imperishable right of a freeman, but the raising or dropping of the arm is the result of a will that resides in the brain and, much as we desire that such will remain entirely independent, there is no mandate of law which prevents their association with others or their responsibility to a higher will. The individual may feel himself alone unequal to cope with the conditions that confront him, or unable to confront the myriad of considerations which ought to control his conduct. He is entitled to the highest wage that the strategy of work or cessation of work may bring, and the limitations upon intelligence and opportunities may be such that he does not choose to stand upon his own perception of the strategic or other conditions. His right to chose a leader, one who serves, thinks and wills for him, a brain skilled to observe his necessity, is no greater pretension than that which is recognized in every other department of industry. So far and within reasonable limits associations of this character are not only not unlawful, but are in my judgment beneficial when they do not restrain individual liberty, and are under enlightened and conscientious leadership. But they are subject to the same laws as other associations. * * * No man in his individual right can lawfully demand and insist upon conduct by others which will lead to injury to a third person's lawful rights. The railroads carrying the mails and interstate commerce have a right to the services of each of their employees and until each lawfully chooses

to quit, and any concerted action upon the part of others to demand or insist under effective penalty or threat upon their quitting, to the injury of the mail service or the prompt transportation of interstate commerce, is a conspiracy unless such demand or insistence is in pursuance of a lawful authority conferred upon them by the men themselves, and is made in good faith in execution of such authority.

A demand and insistence under effective penalty or threat, injury to the transportation of the mails or interstate commerce being proven, the burden falls upon those making the demand or insistence to show lawful authority and good faith.

Let me illustrate: twelve carpenters are building a house. Aside from contract relations each can quit at leisure. A thirteenth and a fourteenth man, strangers to them, by concerted threats of holding them up to public odium or private malice, induced them to quit and leave the house unfinished. The latter in no sense represented the former or their wishes, but are simply interlopers for mischief and are guilty of conspiracy against the employer of the carpenters; but if upon trial for such results the thirteenth and fourteenth man prove that instead of being strangers they are trustees, agents, or leaders of the twelve, with full power to determine for them whether their wage is such that they ought to continue or to quit, and that they have in good faith determined that question, they are not then, so far as the law goes, conspirators; but if it should further appear that the supposed threat was not used in the interest of the twelve men to further a personal ambition or malice of the two it would not entirely justify their conduct. Doing a thing under cloak of authority is not doing it with threat. The injury of the two to the employer in such an instance would only be aggravated by their treachery to the associated twelve, and both employer and employee should with equal insistence ask for the visitation of the law.

If it appears to you, therefore, applying the illustration to the occurrences that will be brought to your attention, that any two or more persons by concerted insistence or demand under effective penalties and threats upon men quitting the employment of the railroads to the obstruction of mails or interstate commerce, you may inquire whether they did these acts as strangers to these men advised to quit, or whether they did them under the guise of trustees or leaders of an association to which these men belong; and if the latter appears you may inquire whether their acts and conduct in that respect were in good faith and in conscientious execution of their supposed authority, or were simply the use of that authority as a guise to advance personal ambition or satisfy pride or malice. There is honest leadership among these, our laboring fellow-citizens, and there is doubtless dishonest leadership. You should not brand any act of leadership as dishonest or in bad faith until it clearly so appears; but if it does so appear, if any person is shown to have betrayed that trust and his acts fall within the definition of crime, as I have given it to you, it is alike the interest and pleasure and a duty of every citizen to bring him to swift and heavy punishment.

"I wish again in conclusion to impress upon you the fact that the present emergency is to vindicate law. If no one has violated the law under the rules I have laid down it needs no vindication; but if there has been such violation there should be quick, prompt, and adequate indictment—I confess that the problems which were made the occasion or pretext for our present disturbances have not received perhaps the consideration they deserve. It is our duty as citizens to take that up and by candid and courageous discussion to ascertain what wrongs exist and what remedies can be applied. But neither the existence of such problems nor the neglect of the public hitherto to adequately consider them justifies the violation of law or the bringing on of general lawlessness. Let us first restore business and punish the offenders of law, and then the atmosphere will be clear to think over the claims of those who have real grievances. First vindicate the law. Until that is done no other question is in order."

The grand jury returned an indictment against Debs and others because of his activities in impeding the carrying of the United States mails.

The injunction suit against Debs and the railway union became the case of In re Debs, decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, when an attempt by the writ of habeas corpus was used to free Debs from the restraint imposed by the Illinois Federal Court. This celebrated decision, written by Justice Brewer, has settled for all time the question of the sufficiency of our National Government to deal with attacks made against it and to compel an observance of its orders and respect for its authority. Therein it is said in part:

"But there is no such impotency in the National Government. The entire strength of the Nation may be used to enforce in any part of the land the full and free exercise of all national powers and the security of all rights entrusted by the Constitution to its care. The strong arm of the National Government may be put forth to brush away all obstructions to the freedom of interstate commerce or the transportation of the mails. If the emergency arises, the army of the Nation, and all its militia, are at the service of the Nation to compel obedience to its laws.

"But passing to the second question, is there no other alternative than the use of force on the part of the executive authorities whenever obstructions arise to the freedom of interstate commerce or the transportation of the mails? Is the army the only instrument by which rights of the public can be enforced and the peace of the Nation preserved? Grant that any public nuisance may be forcibly abated either at the instance of the authorities, or by any individual suffering private damage therefrom, the existence of this right of forcible abatement is not inconsistent with nor does it destroy the right of appeal in an orderly way to the courts for a judicial determination, and an exercise of their powers by a writ of injunction and otherwise to accomplish the same result. * * *

"Every government, entrusted by the very terms of its being with powers and duties to be exercised and discharged for the general welfare, has a right to apply to its own courts for any proper assistance in the

exercise of the one and the discharge of the other, and it is no sufficient answer to its appeal to one of those courts that it has no pecuniary interest in the matter. The obligations which it is under to promote the interest of all and to prevent the wrong doing of one resulting in injury to the general welfare is often of itself sufficient to give it a standing in court. * * *

"It is obvious from these decisions that while it is not the province of the Government to interfere in the mere matter of private controversy between individuals, or to use its great powers to enforce the rights of one against another, yet whenever the wrongs complained of are such as affect the public at large, and are in respect of matters which by the Constitution are entrusted to the care of the Nation, and concerning which the Nation owes the duty to all the citizens of securing to them their common rights, then the mere fact that the Government has no pecuniary interest in the controversy is not sufficient to exclude it from the courts, or prevent it from taking measures therein to fully discharge those constitutional duties.

"The National Government, given by the Constitution power to regulate interstate commerce, has by express statute assumed jurisdiction over such commerce when carried upon railroads. It is charged, therefore, with the duty of keeping those highways of interstate commerce free from obstruction, for it has always been recognized as one of the powers and duties of a government to remove obstructions from the highways under its control."

It is interesting to know that the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the recent so-called Adamson Bill case (Wilson v. New, et al.) is founded upon In re Debs, from which I have just quoted; and the opinion of the Chief Justice once more exalts the supremacy of national power and assures us of a Federal Government adequate to compel obedience to lawful authority and the orderly transportation and interchange of commerce between the states.

The great war, in which the United States has joined, is for the triumph of democracy and the complete defeat of autocracy and empire. When this war comes to an end, a peace with victory, even the casual observer can see that there will be no chance to question the quality, the genuineness of the freedom that will be granted. All over the world, the people will demand and will obtain a true measure of the free exercise of human rights. There will be no patience shown to those who argue for anything less than the fullest and most complete distribution of democratic privileges and immunities. As a part of this adjustment to the new order, will come the need for the settlement of industrial disputes by an orderly method, some form of cooperative courts of arbitral justice, or there will be the most violent and sanguinary disorders that have ever occurred. We must prepare to meet this need—it is the most important problem that faces this Nation, in the time of war or in time of peace.

Organized efforts, powerful and far-reaching are always at work to undermine the judicial power of our courts. The power to issue injunctions in labor disputes is challenged and denied. Under pressure of

force and a weak subserviency to political advantage, we are apt to yield and approve modifications of our judicial system and the power of our courts. With all the strength at my command, with all my devotion to this great republican government, I ask that we stand steady in the faith, true and courageous in our unalterable determination to see that the courts of this land be kept forever strong and sufficient, honest, fearless and above suspicion. The dispensation of justice is the highest quality in the human breast and the courage to uphold the law against any attack is the most sublime of any in the world. If the power of our courts in injunction cases is ever weakened, the end of the republic is in sight. No military force could keep it together. We would be dismembered in internecine struggle and rebellion. Let us stand forever loyal to our institutions of free government, unafraid to uphold our liberty according to law, to quell riot and disturbance, to live as neighbors and friends under the reign of law and order, to exalt justice and the worship of Christian ideals for the preservation of our freedom regulated by law.

To all of us who love liberty and the pursuit of happiness, I wish to emphasize the need of insisting, at any cost, that the power of our courts to issue injunctions be never weakened. It is the strong arm of a court of equity, ready to restrain the employer when he acts against the welfare of his employees, and to restrain the employees in acts unjust and injurious to the welfare of the employer. Above all, it is the final means of keeping us safe from violence and to protect the great mass of our citizenship that is not directly involved in the dispute. It is the power to protect life and property from unjust attack, no matter from whence it comes. It is the means of bringing the decrees of justice to the point of common obedience—the means whereby the Government may compel its right to endure and go forward with respect. Those who challenge the power of our courts challenge the very life of the Government, for the court is but the hand that protects the life of the commonwealth.

Illinois, proud State of the prairies and great rivers, has given to the Nation much that has made us glad to rejoice in the blessings of our freedom. When we think of the majesty of Lincoln, the iron courage of Grant, it is fitting to recall that the first real test of liberty according to law was worked out in this splendid State, and the timely courage of the firm, stubborn and unflinching Cleveland, responding to the call of our own Federal Court, enabled us to show to the world that a democracy based upon self-denial and mutual forbearance is yet strong enough to stand for its life and to compel respect for its authority.

REVERIE OF FIFTY YEARS.

(By Clark E. Carr. Read by George A. Rogers.)

The following beautiful lines were written by Col. Clark E. Carr as the final words or conclusion of his splendid address entitled, "Lincoln at Gettysburg."

The address was presented at the annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society January 25, 1906. It attracted great attention and as the edition published by the Society was speedily exhausted, in 1915 a new edition with additional material was published by A. C. McClurg & Co., of Chicago. Colonel Carr was at Gettysburg on the occasion of the dedication of the cemetery as the representative of Illinois. He heard the address and it has lived in his memory. He has pondered over it and the flight of time has but added to his love and veneration for the name and memory of Lincoln. Looking back over the half century which has elapsed since he heard the simple, noble, eloquent words, Colonel Carr has put into this "Reverie," this luminous afterglow reflected by the memories of a full and useful life these beautiful words and they are published as a part of his book entitled, "Lincoln at Gettysburg." Mr. Rogers read the Reverie with much feeling and with excellent effect.

Colonel Carr was present and expressed pleasure with its presentation at the annual meeting of the Society:

"On a bright November afternoon of long ago, when the autumn leaves were tinged with a thousand hues of beauty, upon an eminence in the midst of a great plain bounded by lofty mountains, I saw a vast concourse of men and women. I saw among them illustrious warriors, gifted poets, and profound statesmen. I saw ambassadors of mighty empires, governors of great commonwealths, ministers of cabinets, men of high position and power. I saw above their heads, upon every hand, a starry banner, drooping under the weight of sombre drapery. I saw men and women standing among new-made graves, overwhelmed with grief which they vainly endeavored to conceal. I knew that I was in the midst of a people bowing under great affliction, of a land stricken with sorrow. I knew that the tide of destruction and death had not ceased to ebb and flow, but that at that moment the fate of my country was trembling in the balance, her only hope in the fortitude and valor of her sons, who were baring their breasts to storms of shot and shell only a few miles away.

I saw standing in the midst of that mighty assembly a man of majestic yet benignant mien, of features worn and haggard, but beaming

with purity, with patriotism, and with hope. Every eye was directed towards him, and, as men looked into his calm, sad, earnest face, they recognized the great President, the foremost man of the world, not only in position and power but in all the noblest attributes of humanity. When he essayed to speak, such solemn silence reigned as when, within consecrated walls, men and women feel themselves in the presence of Deity. Each sentence, slowly and earnestly pronounced, as its full import was apprehended, sank into every patriotic heart, gave a strange lustre to every face, and nerved every arm. In those utterances, the abstract, the condensation, the summing up of American patriotism, were contained the hopes, the aspirations, the stern resolves, the consecration upon the altar of humanity, of a great people.

From the hour of that solemn dedication the final triumph of the loyal hosts was assured. As the Christian day by day voices the sacred prayer given him by his Savior, so the American patriot will continue to cherish those sublime sentiments and inspired words. While the Republic lives he will continue to repeat them, and while, realizing all their solemn significance, he continues to repeat them, the Republic will live."

Clark E. Carr.

THOMAS BEARD.
From an oil painting presented to Beardstown by his daughter, Mrs. Stella Beard Poe.

THOMAS BEARD, THE PIONEER AND FOUNDER OF BEARDSTOWN, ILLINOIS.

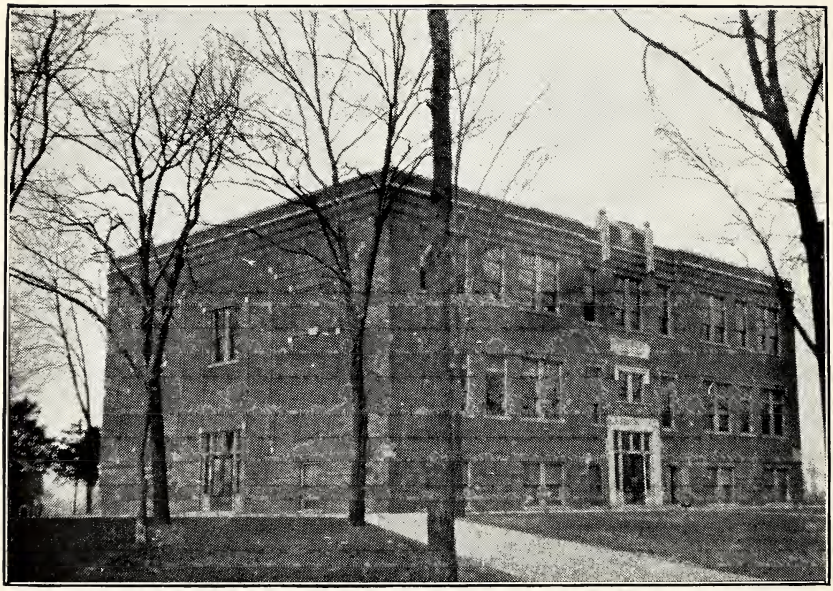
(By Rev. P. C. Croll, D. D.)

It is an honor and a privilege to participate in the holding of this Eighteenth Annual Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, because itself has such an emphatic, historical setting. It meets but a month after our great nation has become actively involved in the great world war, which has already distressed, if not laid waste most of the nations of Europe. Within the bounds of this city are now established two camps and training schools, one for the training of our soldiery and the other for the schooling of an army of Red Cross nurses, for the equipment of a mighty force in the participation of the great struggle for world-freedom and democracy. It is but four days since, as a consequence of this world's struggle, there visited this city the distinguished representatives of France, and here, in the Hall of our State Legislature and at the tomb of the great Lincoln, with the city gaily decorated with the flags of two nations, paid a fitting tribute to this State and Nation, and made touching appeal to the great commonwealth to come to the help of the gigantic struggle, now going on on French soil and elsewhere, against militaristic autocracy. Again, it is but a week since in this city for the first time in its history, (and let us hope forever,) the notorious John Barleycorn, as a *persona non grata* to the majority of its citizens, was compelled to bow his exit from within its bounds. Once more, it meets just as the first century of the State's life, as the 21st member in the federal union, is running to its close and while preparations are going on for the proper celebration next year, of the first centennial of Illinois as a separate State.

While these preparations are going on for the fitting observance of Illinois' Centennial, it has been thought proper to direct attention to the history of local communities, as a sort of prelude to next year's more elaborate historical pageant, for it will be found that the State's history can only be spelled out by the sum of the life and development of the separate local communities. Like every thing else, the whole is but the sum of all its parts. Hence the writer will attempt in this paper to tell in brief the story of Beardstown and Thomas Beard, its pioneer founder.

This city of Beardstown will itself celebrate the centennial of its founder's first setting foot upon its sandy soil only one year after our State shall have celebrated its enrollment among the great union of states, over which proudly floats our national emblem with its now forty-eight stars.

But first let me give a paragraph to show the true historical setting, at that time, when our State and this municipality came into being, as to our nation's and the world's life. As intimated above, our State was just one year old when Thomas Beard first came to the Mounds Village of the Muscooten Indians, which then occupied the site of the present proud municipal queen of Cass County. The white settlers in the limits of the county then could have been numbered with the fingers of one hand. As the great territory's settlement had scarcely begun, out of which was carved this twenty-first State of the union, none of the internal improvements, which now give Illinois such a conspicuous place in the sisterhood of states had yet come. There was then no foot of railroad built, or canal dug, in the entire state, which now boasts of being the greatest railroad State in the union. There were then scarcely any highways in all the state. 'Tis true, there was a narrow rim of settlements along the southwestern border of the State, with Kaskaskia, the State's first capital, as its center. And there was a system of bridle paths and mud roads—made famous in the writings of Charles Dickens, who visited this territory just previous to its birth as a State—which connected these first settlements. In-coming settlers, as far as these came overland, made new paths through the rich glebe, for their prairie schooners while in the southern section road-making and road-building was being discussed and effected between the French settlements of Old Vincennes, on the Wabash and St. Louis, on the Mississippi. But the central and northern sections of the State still lay in their unbroken, virgin, prairie condition. There was a map of the State giving its general outlines, but Chicago, Rockford, Dixon, Rock Island, Ottawa, Streator, Joliet, Bloomington, Peoria, Galesburg, Carthage, Quincy, Macomb, Havana, Springfield, Decatur, Champaign, Danville, Paris, Charleston, Pana, Hillsboro, Vandalia, Alton and Beardstown, together with the scores of flourishing towns lying between, were then not on the map. For a decade or more after this, the first settler had not yet come, either to the State's gigantic metropolis, Chicago, or its present progressive capital city, in which we are now assembled. Beardstown came into being before any of the above named centers of municipal life and activity. She was among the first of the State's town-children to be born, and was a flourishing trading post, known far and wide, as a meat-packing center and emporium, while Chicago still lay in its infantile swaddling clothes, and while Omaha and Kansas City and Denver and Portland and Seattle were still undreamed of nonentities. Even New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore were then comparatively small cities, while the whole nation had less than nine millions of population. We had just fought our second war with Great Britain, and Europe had newly come to rest from that nineteenth century dreamer of world-empire, Napoleon Bonaparte. The first steamship had not yet crossed the Atlantic, nor had ever yet the streets of any American city been lit by gas nor a telegraphic message been sent in all the world. As for telephones, cables, or wireless messages, bicycles or automobiles, aeroplanes or submarines, they were not dreamed of for another half century. Negro slavery still flourished in the southern half of our country and continued for forty years longer. The great



BEARD SCHOOL BUILDING.
BEARDSTOWN ILLINOIS.

emancipator, who gave to this State her greatest fame as one of her adopted sons, was just ten years old, and had not yet set foot upon her prairie soil. The Indians still occupied two-thirds of our immense domain. Lo! what a century of exploration, invention, settlement, conquest, development and making of political history lies immediately behind us! Illinois' one hundred years of life has seen the working of the mightiest wonders of progress in every line of modern day advancement that this world has ever known. Physically it has been the wonder working century of all time.

It was at the beginning of this marvelous century, just past, that Thomas Beard, a youth of twenty-three or twenty-four years of age, of eastern birth, first stepped upon the State's still uncultivated soil. But the then awakening empire of the middle west stirred his blood and lured him forth with the restless and insatiable *wanderlust* of the explorer. We shall see to what it led him.

Thomas Beard was a man of good, sturdy, New England stock. In his forbears and his own personal experience he contains and covers the best advancing trend of our nation's progressive history. Through his ancestors he is connected with the best blend of blood and progress that marked the centuries of settlement, historic development and political independence that had its beginnings in New England and the Atlantic seaboard.

In the Revolutionary war roster of sailors from Massachusetts appears the name of Amos Beard, who served for seven years in that severe struggle for freedom "that tried men's souls." He was the grandfather of the subject of this sketch. Before he enlisted in the sanguinary struggle for liberty and independence, he had married Hannah Needham, descendant of another worthy New Englander, and of this union was born in Berkshire county, Massachusetts, on September 24, 1764, their first son, Jedediah. Six other brothers and sisters came to gladden and fill up this new home before the fires of revolution were kindled, when the patriotism of the father, that burned like a hidden flame, broke forth to make him, with others, go forth with trusty flintlock and a stout heart to

Strike till the last armed foe expires
Strike for their altars and their fires;
Strike for the green graves of their sires,
God and their native land.

This Jedidiah, from twelve to nineteen years of age, assisted the mother in the care of the home, while the father was fighting for his country's deliverance from the oppression of Great Britain. He became later the father of Thomas Beard, the western pioneer. "Near the close of the long military struggle the anxious and care-worn mother died and the patriot husband and father returned to his desolate home and to his motherless children. To better his condition he removed his family to Granville, Washington County, New York, where certain of the relatives were then living."

On September 1, 1793, at Granville, Jedediah Beard married Charlotte Nichols, daughter of John Nichols, who was born in Vermont. Of

this union was born at Granville, on December 4, 1794, their first child, Thomas Beard, the subject of this sketch. An uncle, Amaziah Beard had in 1798 removed from Granville to the "Western Reserve" of Ohio. He sent back repeated and glowing reports of the prosperity and advantages of this new country, so that Jedediah got the restless lure of the westward wanderlust, and as soon as he could overcome his wife's reluctance, which was in 1800, they, with certain other neighbors, took up the trail and trekked to the wilds of Ohio and settled near the southern shores of Lake Erie. Thomas was but six years old at the time of this flitting, but if an impressionable child at all, he was old and observant enough to sow the seeds of adventure, which developed in his own brain about fifteen years thereafter, when of his own accord he plunged into a newer and larger and more distant country to explore and settle and develop and write his own name upon the yet unwritten tablets of history, in the then new-born State of Illinois.

The hardships endured in his family's removal from New York to Ohio have been related, but they were a valuable asset for the boy, who should brave greater hardships and plan greater exploits as a young man. Finally, however, the difficulties of that primitive journey on horseback in mere bridle paths came to an end after four months, when the boy's uncle, Amaziah, came out to meet them with an ox team from his settlement at the present site of Barton, on the west bank of the Cuyahoga river, where they also took up their residence on May 4, 1800. From a biographical sketch by J. N. Gridley, we learn that Jedediah Beard purchased a lot in the new town, having previously bought a mill property on the west bank of the river. In a double log cabin, erected on this lot, the Beards took up their residence and reared their family among forests, and amid wild animals and Indians. What a school for the coming adventurer and pioneer! Some prosperity came to the household and the children were educated to the best of their ability in their own home and later in a private school taught by a teacher named Robinson, in Conneaut, Ohio. The following letter written by Thomas Beard to his father, came to my hands through his niece, Mrs. Mary G. Fisher, a nonegenarian of Petersburg, Illinois, showing the young Beard away at school at Salem, Ohio, in 1814:

"SALEM, *January 2, 1814.*

"DEAR FATHER: We have this morning received news from Buffalo of its being burnt. The express arrived here last night at midnight, and says the enemy crossed over last Friday morning at Black Rock, and the regulars and militia to the amount of 2,000 attacked them, but not being able to stand this enemy, they retreated to Buffalo, where they were surrounded and taken prisoners. He says the enemy had proceeded towards Erie about ten miles, and were marching on as fast as possible with intention to burn the vessels that lie in the basin at that place. We have heard that there was 3,000 of the enemy that crossed over. As to our school we have had a very good chance so far. I have got as far as rebate, and Thalia is now on compound interest. Our bill is likely to be very high, as provision is hard to be got at any price. Wheat costs 12 shillings per bushel. If you could buy it at a reasonable price you could sell it here at a dollar and a half a bushel. Mr. Robinson wants to have you

bring down two or three cheeses for him when you come. We are very well contented with our situation there and at the school. Thalia hopes to see you here this month. I hope you will write us soon as you receive this. We have scarcely heard from home since we have been here. Curtis must write a letter at least a rod long, and let us have some news. I think I have wrote my part.

JEDIDIAH BEARD. (Signed) THOMAS BEARD."

Under this instructor Thomas made rapid progress in his studies. In later years he attended an academy, where he studied history, mathematics, surveying and other branches of learning.

Like his grandfather, so his father had a strong patriotic nature and needed but the proper occasion to kindle it into a burning flame. Accordingly at the outbreak of the war of 1812 Jedediah Beard became a soldier. He was chosen Lieutenant Colonel of the 1st Regiment of 4th Brigade of 4th Division of Ohio state Militia, and in March 1813, took the command of his regiment and reported at Cleveland, Ohio. He, like his father in the Revolutionary struggle, left wife and a large family (nine children in all) to struggle in their domestic conflict, while he battled the enemy at the front. Thomas, a youth of 18 years, shouldered the responsibility of his father in this domestic struggle. But it was not for so long a term, for immediately after Perry's victory on Lake Erie, in September 1813, the father returned to his family.

Thomas soon thereafter reached his majority and with this period of his development, was manifested his desire of adventure and exploration. The opening west lured him. He had dreamed of the pioneer experience, of discovery and a home amid the newer and wilder scenes of the now opening Mississippi Valley. Though his mother was loath to see him leave home and made long protest, the ambitions and perseverance of the son finally prevailed. In 1817 he left home. His first letter from Wooster, Ohio, dated December 13 of that year states his intention to start for the south on Monday next. The next letter was sent from St. Louis, from which city he proceeded to Edwardsville, Illinois. Here he must have remained some time. It is known he had a grave spell of sickness while residing here with a family named Dunsmore. In 1819 he leaves Edwardsville, in company with Gen. Murray McConnel (whose later years were spent in Jacksonville, Ill.,) to make an overland trip on horse-back to the Illinois River, having been previously explored to some extent by his travel mate. Their destination was the Kickapoo Mounds just below the mouth of the Sangamon. At this place was then located an Indian village, or settlement, of the Muscooten tribe. They have given the name to the large local bay located here from which for many decades since the finest ice is harvested and shipped every winter and quantities of the best fish are caught and shipped every summer. The prospect pleased Mr. Beard and he decided to remain, while Gen. McConnel returned. And his remaining and becoming the first white settler at this point fixes the date of Beardstown's beginning. His hut was the westermost outpost of civilization at this point and his first operations the stake-settings and beginning of the future Beardstown, though the town site may not have been plotted for nearly a decade later. Little did his protesting mother dream on his

leave-taking from home, that she and her husband and many others of her family should ever be lured after him and like Joseph of old, he be found in this land of corn to give them a welcome in their old age and a happy home and a peaceful sepulture here in this prairie soil! The following "Description of a Journey," made by a sister and a brother-in-law of Beard's and their family is descriptive of Mr. Beard's life then and of the journeyings and settlements of Illinois' early pioneers:

"The first relatives that came west was Edward Collins and his family, which consisted of his wife, one daughter 16 years of age, myself and a boy 5 years old, and baby 1 year, also a daughter of Mr. Beard. In an old letter we find, they left Barton, Ohio, on November 16, 1836, drove to Wellsville, arriving there on the 19th. We then went aboard the steamer Tremont, reached Louisville the 23d. We transferred to the Girard a better boat for St. Louis. On the 30th we left St. Louis on the Wyoming for Beardstown, the only boat that could run when there was ice in the river. My brother-in-law told me afterward there were but two boats built for that purpose, and they were not a success. We arrived in Beardstown on the 1st day of December, 1836, after a perilous trip from St. Louis, which took two days.

"Incidents I remember of the journey: In those days the cabins were small, and not built for passengers. The deck was one large room, and each family was allowed a space for themselves and baggage, extra pay for the same. We had the center, and the spaces were partitioned off. The room for the deck hands was enclosed; there were little benches all around the room. We had boxes of provisions and clean straw beds. One nice family on the side of the boat who had a stove and kindly let us use it when we needed it.

"While on the Girard our boat run a race and won. The children enjoyed it but mother did not.

"On the Wyoming wheels were large buckets to help propel the boat, and I used to enjoy watching them. The buckets would dip up the water and when they came to the top of the wheel would turn over and empty the water. One bucket was broken.

"The ice came thicker and faster, an unusual break-up at that time, but we moved slowly along.

"The deck hands stood on the bow of the boat with long poles with sharp spikes in the end and when a large cake of ice came they would push it one side of the boat.

"They had barrels of tar near the fire where they could dip the wood in when it was necessary to do so.

"When the night came they lighted up the boat and the large cakes of ice would strike the boat and every timber would shiver and shake. Loud voices were heard and great excitement prevailed. I was close in my mothers arms, and she would say another blow like that and we are gone, but we survived the night.

"They stopped frequently for wood. Toward night my brother Chas, 5 years old, thought his father went ashore and tried to follow him; the plank was icy and he slipped and would have gone into the river, a man caught him and blessed providence saved him.

"Uncle Beard lived on the opposite side of the river from the town, keeping the ferry. He knew we were on the way but no telephone to inform him of our whereabouts, and he was anxiously waiting for us. He finally decided to go to St. Louis with teams the next morning and meet us, but we arrived that night, before he started.

"He heard the boom, boom of the boat down the river, and had all hands out with the flat boat and went over the icy river and met the steamer and we were transferred to the flat boat.

"We reached the Schuyler side as a large cake of ice was coming down.

"We made our way to the large two-story white house all lighted up to welcome us, and a lovely supper awaiting us. Hot biscuits and honey and other good things with uncle Beard smiling awaiting us on December 1, 1836."

Thomas Beard seems to have had no difficulty in becoming acquainted and a favorite among the red men. He began the life of a trader among them and continued it for a number of years. There were checkered experiences for these years. Thomas Beard, the squatter, managed to get into his possession some of the land on the river front where their mounds were located, to which he afterwards acquired legal title when the new State disposed of them (begun in 1823). In 1826 his first land entry was made and the real beginning of town building began. Gradually new settlements came into these parts, which in a few years grew more rapidly. A westward trail led through these parts which grew into a busy emigration highway for the country west of the Illinois. The peninsula formed by the Illinois and Mississippi rivers was parcelled out by the National Government as bounty land to the soldiers of our second war with England, and has ever since come to be known as "the Military Tract." There was a rush for it, and the States beyond the Mississippi, viz., Missouri and Iowa. This made it profitable to establish a ferry at this point, which favorable opportunity Thomas Beard embraced in the year 1826. Soon hotel quarters were needed on either side of the stream and Mr. Beard, having meanwhile laid out his land in a town plot, erected his hostelry at the corner of State and Main streets, which was known to past generations as "The City Hotel," and which was only displaced in 1915 to make room for the new Federal building, which now adorns this corner. The opposite side of the river also had hotel accommodations in charge of different men, but was in the hands of Thomas E. Collins, (a nephew of Beard, and born in Barton, Ohio,) on the occurrence of the remarkable and sudden change in temperature, known in local history as "the Cold Day of Illinois," (which occurred on December 20, 1836,) and which he described, when many men out travelling and many heads of cattle were frozen to death in different parts of Illinois by an almost instantaneous drop of a mild temperature to many degrees below zero.

The first accounts of Beard's doings here, given by himself and preserved, are from letters to his parents. But they are after he had purchased the land from the State and laid out his town-plot, thus:

"Sangamon Bay, March 20, 1826. I have settled on the east bank of the Illinois River, on public land, 120 miles above St. Louis. My

reason for choosing this location is on account of its being a valuable site for a town and a ferry. The country is settling fast."

A few other historical data may be quoted here as taken from J. Henry Shaw's address on Cass County's History, delivered on July 4, 1876. They are as follows:

"The principal Indian tribes of the Illinois were the Muscootens and their town was upon the present site of Beardstown on the east bank of the river, at the foot of Muscooten Bay, and was called by the French 'the Mound Village.'

"The Peorians, another of the Illinois tribes, more particularly occupied that portion of the country between the rivers (Illinois and Mississippi), having their town on the west bank of the Illinois River, four miles above the Muscooten village, upon the bluffs back of the present town of Frederick. The present site of Beardstown was at that time an island, surrounded on the northeast and south by almost impassable swamps, containing dangerous quicksands and quaking bogs and which could be crossed only in canoes or by Indians jumping from hillock to hillock of the turf grass with which these swamps were interspersed, and on the west by the Seignelay (French name) or Illinois River. The Indian town of the Muscootens was a beautiful place. It was built upon a series of beautiful mounds, covered with grass, and partially shaded by tall trees, which stood like sentinels upon the hills, or ornamental trees upon a lawn, so scattered as to obstruct the view of the whole town from the river. The island had evidently been selected not on account of its natural beauty, but for its easy defense and safety from enemies.

"Back of the swamp which protected the rear of the town, was a wide belt of rich prairie bottom land, and beyond six miles, loomed up the Sangamon Bluffs, looking like miniature Andes in the distance, between which and the island, in the day time, all approaching foes could be discerned."

Here follows the description of a great battle fought at Muscooten Bay, between the Iroquois and Miamis on one side and Illini (Peorias and Muscootens) on the other. The Miamis encamped upon the present site of Chandlerville and there buried their dead in bluffs nearby, whose skeletons were seen exposed by wind and rain long after the town's settlement, while the Muscootens dispersed. Years later this island was taken possession of by the Kickapoo Indians, upon which they built their village, known as "Kickapoo Town" and remembered by the French missionaries as "Beautiful Mound Village."

"This became a favorite trading post and missionary station and continued in the possession of the Kickapoos until its settlement by Thomas Beard in 1820, after whom the present city of Beardstown was named.

"Forty years ago the great mound in Beardstown began to be encroached upon by the spade and the pick-axe of the avaricious white man. The decaying bones of the red warriors as they lay in their quiet and lonely resting place, with the implements of war around them; the silver and flint crosses of the missionaries; even the beautiful mound itself, which as an ornament to the river and a historic feature of the town, should have been held sacred, could not restrain the money-

making white man from destroying it, and it is now recollected only by the old settlers, who used to sit upon its summit and watch the passing away of the last two races—the Indian in his canoe and the French voyager in his pirogue.

* * * * * * * * * *

"In 1700, Illinois was a part of the territory owned by the French government and was called New France.

"In 1720 all the country west of the Mississippi River belonged to Spain, with Santa Fe as its capital.

"In 1763 Illinois was ceded by France to Great Britain after a 'seven years' war.' Many French inhabitants, rather than live under British rule, joined Laclede and settled St. Louis.

"In 1778 the Illinois country was conquered from Great Britain by troops from the state of Virginia under the command of General George Rogers Clark, which was an independent military enterprise of that state; and on the 4th of July of that year, General Clark and his troops took possession of Kaskaskia, the capital of the British possessions west of the Alleghenies, and declared the Illinois country free and independent of Great Britain, thus making the 4th of July the natal day of this State as well as of our Nation.

"In that year Illinois was created a county of Virginia, and Thimeté DeMombreun was appointed by the Governor, Patrick Henry, a justice of the peace, to rule over it, which was possibly the most extensive territorial jurisdiction that a magistrate ever had.

"In 1794 the Legislature of the Northwest Territory divided it into two counties, Randolph and St. Clair.

"In 1809 Illinois was a separate territory.

"In 1812 Madison County was organized from St. Clair and then contained all of the present State north of St. Clair and Randolph.

"In 1818 Illinois was admitted into the Union as the twenty-first State.

"In 1821 Greene County was formed from Madison County. In 1823 Morgan County was formed from Greene and in 1837 Cass County was formed from Morgan County.

"Immigration was retarded by frequent earthquakes in Illinois. Between 1811-13 they were as severe as any ever on the continent. New Madrid, a flourishing town near the mouth of the Ohio River was utterly destroyed and swallowed up. In 1825 the Erie Canal was completed and steamboats had been introduced upon the Mississippi and its tributaries, while immigration received a new impulse and flowed vigorously. In the East it was called "the Western fever," and it carried many off—West.

"In 1818 a man by the name of Pulliam settled upon Horse Creek, a tributary of the Sangamon, and later in November of that year, another man by the name of Seymour Kellogg, was the first settler in the country comprised afterward in the county of Morgan, and it was at his house that the first white child of Sangamon Country was born."

This gives us the setting of this section and county at the time Thomas Beard arrived. He was the first actual white settler within

the limits of Beardstown, coming in 1819, as we have learned and remaining to make it his permanent future home. In 1820 Martin L. Lindsey and family, Timothy Harris and John Cettrough settled in Camp Hollow, a short distance east of the present county farm, where Mr. Lindsey built a cabin in which the first white child in this immediate vicinity was born. (Are any of these descendants still with us? May our present mayor have come from this stock of Harrises? Then he should be re-elected as the offspring of earliest pioneers and honored to preside at our city's centennial celebration.)

In 1820 the first family, after Beard, settled on the site of Beardstown. Their name was Eggleston. In 1819 the late mayor Elijah Iles, of Springfield, landed here and passed on to the "Kelley Settlement," afterwards called Calhoun, and now Springfield, the State capital. He spoke of a hut at Beardstown, built of birchen poles, standing on the bank of the river. Was it Beard's temporary quarters or that of earlier French traders or missionaries?

Archibald Job, later a prominent character in the county, took up temporary residence on Beardstown's site in 1821. That year there were but twenty families in all the limits of the present Cass, Morgan and Scott Counties.

Where Beard found his first wife the present writer does not know, but that he was married to Sarah Bell in 1826 is recorded. Their oldest child, a daughter, was born here on July 1, 1827. We know also that they had two more children, when in 1834 they were legally divorced.

We come now to the records of land entries made by this pioneer. These are found in the recorder's office of Morgan County.

The first land entry was made by Thomas Beard and Enoch C. March, co-jointly on September 23, 1826. It was the N. E. Quarter, 15, 18, 12 and upon this quarter Mr. Beard's first cabin had been built. On the 28th day of October, 1827, they entered the northwest quarter of this section, which extended to the river front below the big mound. Beard individually had entered the west half, southwest on October 10, of same year, and John Knight entered the east half, southwest, on July 17, 1828. These three men entered the entire section upon which the original town was located, in the years 1826, 1827, 1828. This original plot was laid out into town blocks, 23 in all, fronting on the river three blocks deep, reaching from Clay to Jackson Streets, of which block 10, lying between the park and Main Street, is the center one. It was the work of Beard and March, but the town was named for Beard. Francis Arenz (afterwards the closest and most confidential friend of Beard's) and Nathaniel Ware were among the first purchasers of property, and became joint land proprietors with Beard and March. An early deed was made to "Charles Robinson of New Orleans" in 1828 for the consideration of $100. The plot was about twelve acres. He agreed to place upon it within a year a steam mill, distillery, rope walk or store, or in default, return the deed for the consideration given. This Charles Robinson lived until late in the seventies near Arenzville.

The first minister who settled at Beardstown, about 1823, and entered eighty acres nearby was Reddick Horn, a Methodist. Previous

to 1830, the time of the deep snow, about 200 families had settled in the valley between Chandlerville and Arenzville. The event of the "big snow" became an easy incident to reckon from in point of personal memory, as also the "cold day" in 1836 and the "big flood" in 1844.

With the incoming rush of settlers and travel Beard's three-fold business increased, viz., his ferry, his hostelry and his sale of town lots.

Thus we learn that on May 10, 1836, he and Francis Arenz, acting for Ware, laid off an addition of thirty-six blocks, and called it "Beard's and Ware's addition" to Beardstown. Ware then sold all his interests to Arenz and these two, Beard and Arenz, then on July 1, 1837, laid off another twenty-one blocks which they called "Beard's and Arenz's addition."

From a letter to his father, written on February 23, 1830, we learn how Beard was flourishing at that time. The letter follows:

"Beardstown, Morgan County, Illinois, *February 23, 1830.*

"I am still keeping ferry and public house. A part of my land I laid out in town lots, which the people have given me the honor of calling by my name. The place is improving. There are now three stores, and a very extensive steam mill, capable of manufacturing from 50 to 75 barrels per day. Also a saw mill and a distillery attached. I am now engaged in building a two-story and a half brick house, 33 by 43. This building prevented my coming home last fall as I intended. My iron constitution still holds good, though exposed to every hardship."

The building alluded to in this letter was the one already referred to as the "City Hotel" of Beard, which stood, somewhat improved by Henry T. Foster in later years until 1915, when it was removed to give place to the new post office building. It was thus an ancient and historic landmark of eighty-five years, when it gave way to the march of greater progress in Beard's old town. But what changes it saw! What traffic on the river upon whose bank it stood a mute witness! What a stream of travel and westward migration overland it saw course in and out its hospitable doors! In 1844-5 it entertained Abraham Lincoln as guest according to Mrs. Mary G. Fisher, then an inmate, as niece of Thos. Beard. What a lively city it saw growing up about it! What slaughter and meat-packing houses it saw rise and fall! How the grist, saw and gin mills, as earliest businesses, grew apace within its life—the flowering mill of Schultz, Baujan & Co., alone now sending out 1,500 barrels daily, the saw mill of A. E. Schmoldt, until recently doing a gigantic business and the liquor business now increased, alas! to twenty odd retail establishments! How the young State has since developed into the third of the Union in population and wealth! How it saw the birth of Chicago, the same to grow into the metropolis of the State and the second city in size in the United States!

Mr. Beard was enterprising, honest and upright, diligent and far-seeing, public-spirited and benevolent and thus he was respected and prospered.

Among the beneficent deeds of his life was the building of the first schoolhouse in 1834 (the one recently torn down on Sixth Street, near State, to make room for Floyd M. Condit's home) which he and Francis

Arenz built jointly and presented to the town. Well, therefore, that our present school board honored this founder and public benefactor with the naming of the latest, the finest, and the most modern school building of the city for this generous pioneer. Mr. Beard also presented the town with its Central Park, made historic by many public meetings, musicals, band concerts, political mass meetings, with such orators as Lincoln and Douglas speaking in it, and with the holding in it for a score and a half of years of the notorious and popular "Beardstown Annual Free Fish Frys." Shame that it should have been desecrated by a lynching act. Its present condition of concrete walks, fine lights, well kept lawns and flower plots reflects credit and its rest benches bring comfort to Beardstown's present population.

There is another relic of Beard's—the most historical of all, and Beardstown's most interesting shrine—as dear to this city as Faneuil Hall, or Old South Church is to Boston; or Independence Hall, or the Betsy Ross house is to Philadelphia, and that is Cass County's first courthouse, now our city hall of justice and administration, which faces Beard's park, and which in 1844 was erected under contract for the county by Thomas Beard. It is as classic as Carpenter's Hall of the Colonial period and as sacred as any hall of justice on the continent, because in it has justice swung her equipoised balance, without a tip to either arm we trust, during many years; because over its right to be the county's administrative center have the hottest battles been fought locally, and because within its walls, America's greatest citizen and president pleaded and won the cause of freedom from a charge of murder for one of his befriended clients in a case, which, because of Lincoln's shrewd methods of cross-examination, whereby in the use of an almanac, he confounded the star witness against him and proved his testimony false, has been extolled in all the Nation and added a brilliant plume for the brow of honest Abe, before he was thought of as a candidate for the White House. While Lincoln's association with this hall may be its chief glory, the name of Thomas Beard as contractor and builder is not a mean historical notoriety. Should it look for more honors to add to its sanctity it might be said that at least one of the oldest congregations of this city was organized within its walls and for over a year conducted its services within its court room. As this was before Mr. Beard's death, it is not impossible, nor a wild flight of the imagination, to conceive that he may have been a witness at this church's founding or organization. This congregation erected in 1850 its first building at Fourth and Lafayette Streets.

But the murder trial of Duff Armstrong takes precedence of all other interesting incidents connected with this hall. The story of it is well and minutely told in an article by Hon. J. N. Gridley of Virginia, and published in the Illinois State Historical Society's Journal of April, 1910. It would be interesting to quote at length from the article here, but we refer the interested reader to the article itself and turn to another and the last of Beard's historic landmarks. This is his summer home in the bluffs, and has just given way to Time's devouring tooth, as it was razed this very spring.

CASS COUNTY COURT HOUSE.
Built by Thomas Beard. Now City Hall. Beardstown.

In 1836 Thomas Beard, having found fortune smiled upon him, bought 560 acres of land at the bluffs to the northeast of town, where this skirting rim of land elevation forms an obtuse angle of about 240 degrees in the frame it builds of the eastern and southern sides for the Illinois and Sangamon River valleys. It is six miles from town and located just east of the brick schoolhouse (which, by the way, was built by Beard), where the bluffs shove out this elbow. The property is now the possession of Mrs. Ella Seaman, widow of the late Fred Seaman. Here Mr. Beard reared his summer home, located on the first terrace of bluff land in the shape of a commodious bungalow of oak and walnut. He surrounded the same with choice orchards and vineyards and opened the house to hospitality, sociability and domestic bliss. Many were the occasions when these three sisters, like sweet graces, presided here, and many are the memories of our few surviving octogenarians of social functions enjoyed here; and many the stories told of the choice and luscious fruits grown in these hill-side orchards. Few of the fruit trees survive and hardly any of the choice grapes that once grew here. There are two or three chestnut trees in the rear of the house—very rare arborial specimens for Illinois—which Mr. Zuar E. Maine, a relative and townsman, recently told the writer his father had brought as nuts from the northern part of Ohio, when in 1837 he moved here at the solicitation of Mr. Beard, and planted them upon the latter's land. They bear nuts each year and thus form a sort of living link between two or three generations—an annual dividend of kindly care and thoughtfulness for posterity. It chances that Mr. Beard soon succeeded in drawing to his new settlement a large portion of his eastern relatives, for in close proximity to his homestead the land was bought up by four or five brothers-in-law. Mr. Collins' and Mr. Loomis' farms adjoined his on the south, towards Bluff Springs, and Mr. Beales settled in the Sangamon Bottoms (present farm of Charles Bluhm), while Mr. Maine built his home on a two-acre patch on the Chandlerville road next to the brick school. Two other brothers-in-law were Mr. Böhme and a Mr. Canfield, who also settled nearby. All of these lived and died here and are buried in the Beard Cemetery. So were his aged parents induced to follow their prosperous son and spend the declining days near him. They also are buried in the Beard Cemetery.

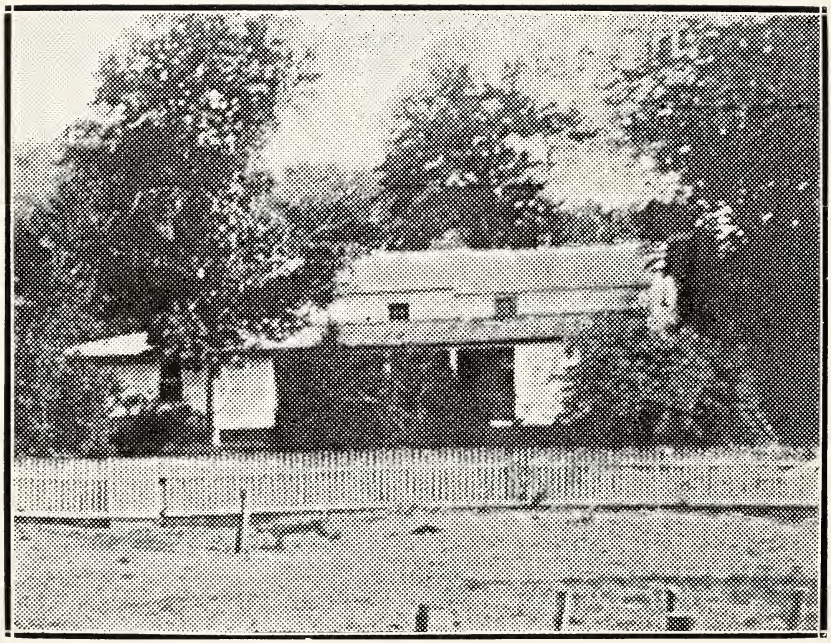
I will let a nephew of Mr. Beard's describe the first general Illinois Thanksgiving feast celebrated in the Beard homestead. The writer alluded to was the late Prof. John Loomis, A. M., well known by many now living in the city, in Virginia and various other places in Cass County, and whose nephew, Henry Loomis, and niece, Mrs. Charles Goodell, still reside at Chandlerville, Illinois. Thus he describes this first Thanksgiving feast. We quote from Historical Sketches, by J. N. Gridley:

"In November, 1845, by the recommendation of the executive of this State, the first day of public Thanksgiving was observed—a venerable custom in New England, but of recent observance in the West and South. On this occasion, invitations were sent by the pioneer to his friends and kindred to come and enjoy his hospitality. He had been

wont to celebrate New Year's day with similar festivities. But, partly out of respect to executive authority, and partly to kindred, who had recently immigrated, he had chosen this day to honor the former and to welcome the latter. Accordingly when the sun had passed the meridian, many wagons were seen converging to the farm house as a center, and not long after the whole scene was active with the arrival of guests and greeting of friends. Religious exercises, unlike the old Puritan Thanksgiving, were wanting to the day. Probably not a minister in the county had ever conducted exercises on such an occasion, for the few then were from the South, or the spontaneous growth of the West, more conspicuous for their zeal than for their learning.

"In other respects it would compare favorably with the most approved style of this festival. The barnyard had been trenched upon for fatlings of various kinds, quadruped and biped, beast and bird. He filled the table with substantial fare, while pastry from the pantry and fruits from the cellar spread a feast satisfactory, even to an epicure, and embracing variety enough to tempt the appetite of the most dainty. But all these are common to such an occasion. It was not in this respect, remarkable. In numbers, too, it was respectable. About eighty persons, one-half children and youth, sat down to the feast. The pioneer at the head of the table had thanks offered, and then bid his friends welcome to his bounties. He moved among his guests delighting them by his cordiality, while he was delighted at the joy that everywhere prevailed. The children were buoyant with glee and the house rang with hilarity on this new holiday. The elder members were looking on with interested delight, or were recounting past events that stood out as waymarks in life's journey, thus far completed. Joy and rejoicing gave wings to the moments. New friendships were formed and old ones were renewed. New hopes were awaked, for festive glances tell the heart's secrets as well as words of love. 'All went merry as a marriage bell.'

"The guests lingered till the waning day admonished them to depart, a few from a distance remaining. The voice of the young grew fainter and fainter. The house was silent. I sat alone with the pioneer. Sleep fled from him as he recounted the early annals of settlement, the bright prospects and hopes, often obscured, but now happily beyond doubt. Hostile tribes of Indians had been subdued and security to family and property was now guaranteed to the settler. The climate was proved to be salubrious, and pestilential diseases, once dreaded, were no longer feared. The border man was selling out his claims and plunging deeper into the wilderness, whither the deer and buffalo had gone. A more intelligent and more thrifty class of citizens were pouring into the State. A Constitution, notwithstanding the cupidity of bad men and the efforts of demagogues to engraft slavery into it, had secured freedom, and good laws foreshadowed the enterprise and improvement which we are now witnessing. These reflections and many others crowded into the mind of the pioneer, and their successful issue were objects of profound thanksgiving. He had felt the weight of these evils and struggled against them. Now a clear sky promised a glorious future.



BEARD HOMESTEAD.

"I have attended similar feasts in other lands. I have witnessed family meetings more affecting, but I have never witnessed a Thanksgiving occasion comprehending subjects of wider range; nor have I ever witnessed hospitality more cordially extended or more truly appreciated than at this first appointed Thanksgiving festival at the house of the pioneer."

And now we turn for another scene amid the same surroundings, but everything greatly changed. Instead of gayety, mirth and thanksgiving, there was mourning, sorrow and lamentation. The pioneer, Mr. Beard, had died and the occasion is his funeral. It was four years after the former meeting for thanksgiving and social festivity. It was also in the fall—the month of November, 1849. We will let the same authority and graphic writer, Mr. Loomis, who was an eye-witness also of the latter scene, describe it for us in his inimitable gift of word-painting:

"The news spread abroad that the pioneer is ill. The disease approaches and progresses flatteringly, at first slightly indisposing, but slowly developing into a malignant form of action, baffling alike medical skill and human sympathy. The strong arm of the victim and stronger will is prostrated. He who has braved the elements alone, the savage beast and the still more savage man, is stretched upon the couch of suffering and asks help in faint whispers. . . . But the struggle is over. Nature yields to an invisible power. Death claims his own.

"The news of the death of the pioneer spread. The hour was appointed for the last offices of respect. I hastened from a distant town to mingle in the company of mourners. The very aspect of nature was such as to give intensity to my feelings. It was autumn. The early frosts had touched the foliage and tinged the leaves with those varied hues that at once sadden the mind by approaching decay and yet clothe the forest with the gorgeous robes of russet, brown and purple. I turned into a bridle path which the pioneer pointed out in my first rambles over the country. It was an unfrequented path which wound along the margin of ravines and the tall trees of the barrens.

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"As I approached the homestead of the pioneer I halted to view the scene. I had emerged from the barrens near that point of the bluff from which I have already given description. There was the landscape of surpassing beauty. There were the various objects the pioneer had given his fostering care—the farm, the orchard, the schoolhouse, all that improved home and neighborhood. There stood solitary the homestead, over the desolation of which there wept the friends of the deceased, with a bitterness that could not be comforted. While standing here, giving way to feelings inspired by the scene, beautiful and sad to me, a long line of vehicles was seen, preceded by the hearse, slowly coming from the distant town, for there the pioneer had died. He was wont to spend the winters in Beardstown, but when spring returned he sought the country to adorn and beautify and to enjoy rural life to which he was ardently attached.

"I descended from my eminence and joined the cavalcade of mourners. The burial spot was a retired and beautiful spot. It was a tongue of land, rising several feet above the surrounding level, nearly circular and joined by a narrow neck to the sand ridges. There, nearly surrounded by a grove of young trees, the pioneer in health had chosen this as a resting place for himself and kindred. His parents were already buried there.

"His father, a patriarch of eighty years, had come hither, leaning upon his staff, to be buried by his beloved son in these broad savannahs. And other friends were here, as many a mute monument recorded. When we arrived at the grave, a circle was formed, and with uncovered brow the Hon. Francis Arenz stepped forward, himself an exile and a pioneer from another land, to do the last act of respect to bury the dead, and in his behalf to thank the living for their courtesy. But the duty was an onerous one. After getting the spectators' attention, he referred to the character of the deceased. He had known him long. Many years ago he had come, a stranger and an exile, and found in the deceased a brother and friend. Many years of intimacy had bound them by strongest ties. The unfortunate said he never went away unrelieved by him, if in his power to do so. No enterprise worthy the philanthropist was unimportant to him while living. He was one of nature's noblemen. Saying which the speaker burst into a paroxysm of grief and tears. The relatives of the deceased gave vent to their grief in audible sobs. Even the idle lookers-on were moved to tears. The body was consigned to its last resting place. The grave was filled, the sod was laid upon it, the crowd dispersed—the kindred to a desolate fireside, the multitude to mourn for a good man."

Following is a brief synopsis of Mr. Beard's domestic life. In 1826 he was married to Sarah Bell and to this union were born the following children:

Caroline E. Beard, born July 1, 1827.

Edward T. Beard, born October 19, 1829.

Stella Beard, born February 25, 1832.

In 1834 he was divorced from his first wife, and in 1837 he was married again, his second wife being Mrs. Nancy C. Dickerman, widow of Willard A. Dickerman, the Dickermans having come hither from New York. This union was blessed with the following children:

Francis Arenz Beard, born January 7, 1840; died June 23, 1841.

Agnes Casneau Beard, born June 23, 1842. Married Augustus Sidney Doane, and still resides in Brooklyn, New York.

James McClure Beard, born June 25, 1844, married Miss Augusta Dodge; died at Rantoul, Illinois, in 1914, a banker.

Eugene Crombie Beard, born December 3, 1846; died at sea April 11, 1868, while on a voyage to Peru, South America, in search of health.

Mrs. Thomas Beard II, died at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Doane, November 13, 1899, at the advanced age of 95 years. Her remains repose in beautiful Greenwood cemetery in Brooklyn.

Until recently three of the children of the pioneer survived him. Only one of these resided in Illinois, viz. his son James McClure Beard,

MRS. NANCY C. BEARD.
WIFE OF THOMAS BEARD.

who was a respected citizen and a prosperous banker in the town of Rantoul, Illinois, where he died in the fall of 1914.

The other two were his daughters Stella and Agnes, the former married to Dr. Poe and residing until her death, on March 6, of this year, in Sheridan, Wyoming, aged 85 years. A few years ago she presented to the town authorities a portrait of her father, done in oil, which now graces our City Hall. From it a photograph was taken as represented in accompanying cut, defective because colors of background and body so nearly match. The latter daughter is still living at the age of 75 years in the city of Brooklyn, N. Y.

I have recently corresponded with all three of these families and sought to find a better portrait of the pioneer, but with no success. I have, however, secured a photo of his second wife and one from his son, late of Rantoul.

A month before her death Mrs. Poe in her own hand wrote the writer this self-explanatory reply to a letter of inquiry and search: *"Rev. P. C. Croll, Beardstown, Illinois.*

"Dear Sir: Yours of February 1st to hand, and in reply will say I very much regret that I cannot give you the desired information in regard to items of interest in my father's life, or the early settlement of Beardstown. Not having been there for over forty years, I am a stranger.

"The portrait was the only picture I had but I think if you write to Mrs. W. F. Hampel in Rantoul, Illinois, my brother's daughter, she may have pictures or mementoes of my father, which my brother left her, when he died two or three years ago. Also write to Miss M. T. Collins, Petersburg, Illinois. She is very likely to be able to assist you.

"I thank you very much for the interest you have taken in writing up this article of my father and the city of his founding, and would be only too glad to assist you, if possible.

"I am the second daughter of Thomas Beard; myself and a sister in Brooklyn, N. Y., Mrs. Agnes Doane, are the only ones of the family left.

"Hoping to learn of your success in obtaining the items you desire, I am,

Yours truly,

Mrs. Stella Beard Poe,
Sheridan, Wyo.

February 11, 1917.

P. S.—I am now 85 years old."

The letters from Mrs. Hampel and Mrs. Doane follow:

"Rantoul, Illinois, *February 27, 1917.*

"Rev. Croll, Beardstown, Illinois.

"Dear Sir: I was very much interested in your letter of recent date, but I am very sorry to say that I know of little that will be of help to you in your work. Records of my grandfather's life here seem to be only records of memory, instead of records in 'black and white.' Very little of anything personal has come to my sister or me. The only thing I have of Grandfather Beard's are the gun and powder horn that he is

said to have carried on his journey from New York to Beardstown as he walked at the side of his horse on which rode his bride, who had been Mrs. Nancy Dickerman.

"My aunt, Mrs. Agnes Doane is still living in Brooklyn, New York and I will send your letter to her in the hope that she may be able to do more for you than I can.

"I have wished many times for a good picture of Grandfather Beard, but so far as I know, there is none. It is too bad that the oil painting you have there in Beardstown is not good for photography. If there is anything further that I can do for you I shall be very glad to help you.

Sincerely yours,

EDITH BEARD HAMPEL."

"89 PINEAPPLE ST., BROOKLYN, *March 6, 1917.*

"Rev. P. C. Croll.

"DEAR SIR: Your favor of February 14, written to my niece, Mrs. Hampel, of Rantoul, Illinois, has been forwarded to me that I may perhaps give you some information as to the life and character of my father, Thomas Beard, pioneer and founder of Beardstown, Illinois. My mother had a daguerreotype of him which I hope to find in the possession of some of my cousins and will communicate with them and let you know as soon as I hear from them.

"I have an account of a number of incidents in his life, which may prove interesting, and will write you as soon as I can find time to look them up.

"I am greatly pleased that some interest is being taken in my father, for he was of the fine, brave type that has been the making of our country, a noble example for our young men.

"Thanking you for the trouble you are taking in the matter, and hoping I may find what you desire, I am

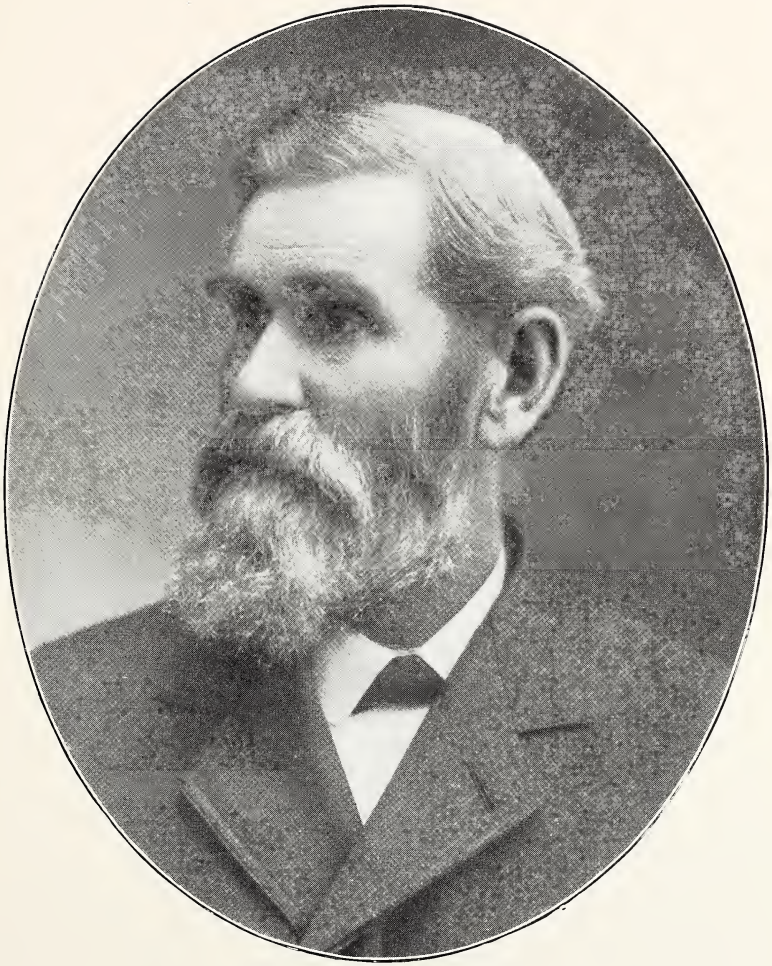
Very respectfully,

MRS. AGNES BEARD DOANE,
89 Pineapple Street, Brooklyn, New York."

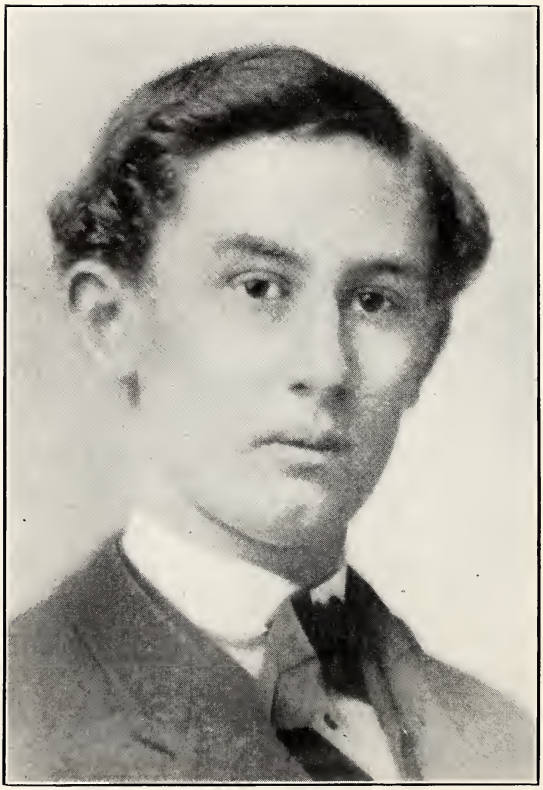
Copy of obituary notice which appeared in the *Beardstown Gazette* of Wednesday, November 28, 1849:

"Died on Wednesday evening, November 26, of typhus fever, Thomas Beard, Esq., aged 55 years.

"It is but seldom we perform the painful task of recording the death of a person so well known and universally respected as Mr. Beard. He was one of the first settlers of the country and substantially the founder of the town that bears his name. He emigrated to this place in early life, where he aided with his industry and sound practical sense the building up of the town and the improvement of the country; the new settler never applied to him for advice and aid in vain; the former he was competent to give and the latter was as freely given when in his power. His character through an eventful life never suffered a blemish, though sustaining a position in which he would have gratified a worldly ambition, he never courted the applause of men; his was a natural nobility that the world could not corrupt, nor the fashions of an artificial



JAMES M. BEARD.
SON OF
THOMAS BEARD.



EUGENE C. BEARD.
Son of Thomas Beard.

life take away. He is gone to that Court to which we are all summoned. May we who are left find at that bar as few accusers as our departed friend."

I have also received from Mr. Samuel Parker, of Glendale, California, 86 years old, an acquaintance and associate in Mr. Beard's later life, an estimate of Mr. Beard's character in reply to a letter of inquiry, from which I make the following extract:

"A man of about 5 feet 10 inches in stature, rather thin, slightly stooped, he was of light complexion, had blue eyes, thin, sandy whiskers; hair same. He was an intelligent talker, though possibly not a graduate even of a grammar school, but of frontier life; and, dealing with frontier men, made him a sharp trader for self-protection. I do not believe that it is on record in Cass County, or Beardstown, or even a tradition in any shape, that Thomas Beard ever took advantage of anybody in a business transaction. In conversation he was rather slow-spoken and deliberate, impressing his hearers as a man of good judgment and of kindly, friendly, benevolent intent.

Yours truly,

SAMUEL PARKER,
Glendale, California.

January 25, 1917."

The writer feels that Mr. Beard is worthy of some fitting memorial. Thus far only a city street and a schoolhouse in Beardstown are named for him. While the Central City Park and the City Hall and the Beard Cemetery are relics and landmarks that recall his name and thoughtful generosity, the writer has advocated a more distinctive memorial in the form of a statue, or public fountain, and hopes the Centennial of Beardstown may bring it to pass.

Until this fond wish shall be realized may this sketch help to perpetuate one of Illinois' worthy pioneers and noble builders, when the foundations of this great State were so firmly and safely laid.

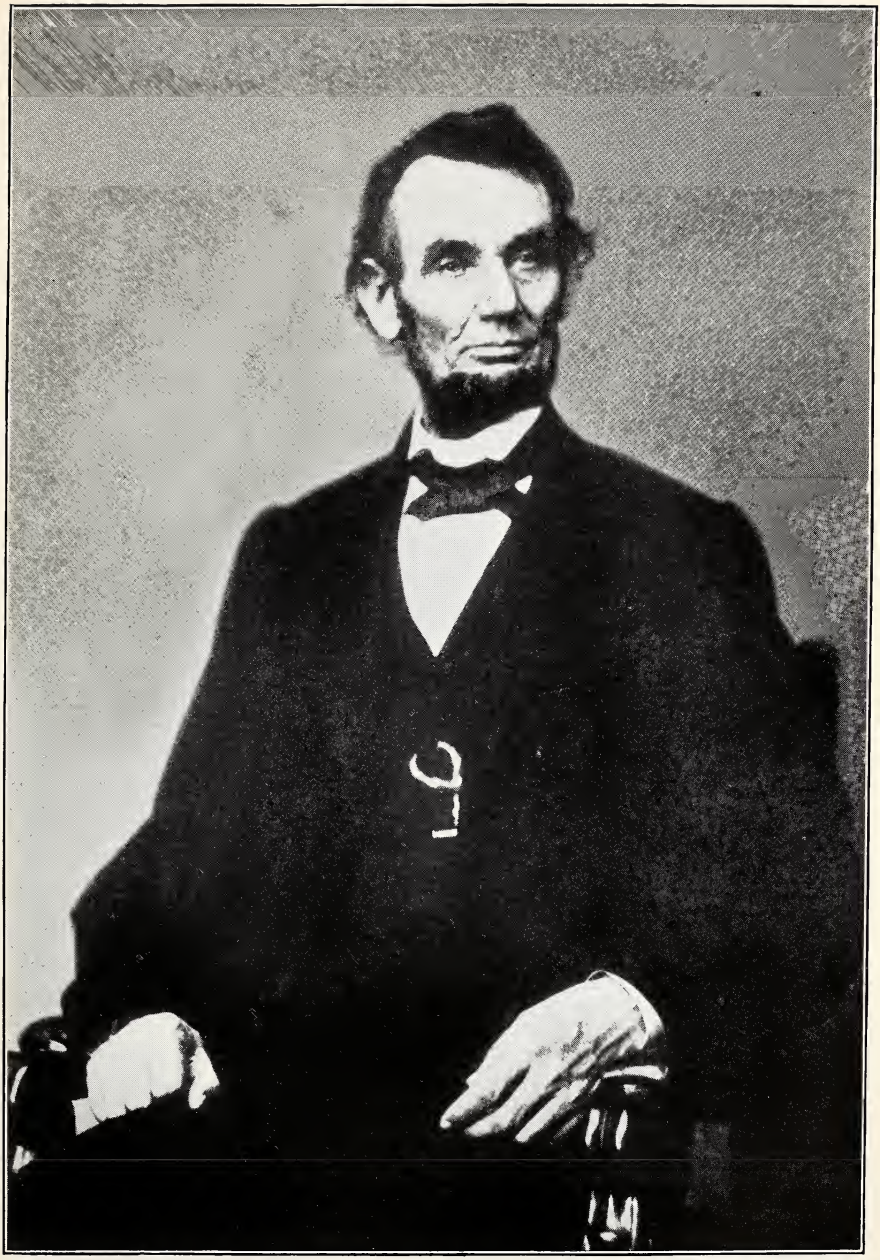
LINCOLN AND THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1864.

(By Arthur C. Cole, University of Illinois.)

What happens in a presidential contest largely depends on the judgment passed by the country on the success of a closing presidential administration. This may not be, perhaps, a desirable situation, but thus far the American people have failed to look for and find the larger issues of the day except in so far as they happen to be involved in the position of the two major political parties and of their leaders, and this position is assumed largely with reference to the developments of the three years under the previous administration. Under this situation the party in power has the advantage and the disadvantage of having its political record submitted most thoroughly to the light of public scrutiny. Judgment on a presidential administration is first passed by the party itself; if this test is survived, a final one comes in the contest at the polls in November. Only one president has refused on principle to attempt to pass these tests. What is true of presidential contests in general must have a bearing on the very important contest that was staged during our great Civil War.

The judgment of history upon the administration of Abraham Lincoln is a most favorable one. He had with unquestioned sincerity grappled with the worst tangle of problems ever confronted by an American executive, and with persistence, energy, self-control, and some degree of tact, carried the nation through its greatest crisis. Yet the story of the election of 1864 reveals the fact that the contemporary popular judgment of these services was highly unfavorable and that only circumstances largely accidental made the balloting of November, 1864, an apparent expression of approval.

Lincoln, it must be remembered, was the first President elected by the Republican party after an existence of only a half-dozen years. This party, though gathering up all the anti-slavery elements, including the radicals, had made the canvass of 1860 on a guarantee for the institution of slavery where it already existed along with an aggressive plank for the non-extension of slavery. In spite of this general guarantee and the repeated assurances of the Republicans, the South chose to regard the Republican victory of 1860 as the beginning of an attack on slavery all along the line. The result was secession followed by civil war, which brought the new president face to face with a situation without precedent in American history. Inasmuch as the Republicans had chosen to regard the southern threats as mere bluff and bravado, they were scarcely prepared to meet the consequences of their success.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

In handling the civil war problems, Lincoln assumed certain powers which made his role quite as significant as that of a dictator in the days of Rome's glory. Without legislative warrant and without precedent in American or even English history, he suspended the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus,* one of the dearest of civil rights in the minds of the American freeman. He gave at least indirect approval to most arbitrary arrests by the direction of the secretaries of state and war.[1] "He stands responsible," says James Ford Rhodes, "for the casting into prison of citizens of the United States on orders as arbitrary as the *lettres-de-cachet* of Louis XIV" and more tyrannical than any used by Great Britain in modern times.[2] There was arbitrary interference with freedom of speech and of the press, even outside the zone of actual fighting. He issued an executive order or proclamation which purported to strike the shackles from millions of negro slaves and to destroy property rights to the amount of millions of dollars, though slavery was recognized, if not protected, under the constitution. This act he sought to justify only as a military necessity, under the undefined war powers of the president. He recommended and officially approved, March 3, 1863, a conscription act which provided for the enrollment of all able-bodied male citizens and authorized the drafting of men when necessary. These were only the principal features of a situation which made it possible for James Bryce to say: "Abraham Lincoln wielded more authority than any single Englishman has done since Oliver Cromwell."

These acts of the executive seemed to involve without question infractions of the constitution, unless the war powers of the president could be interpreted to cover them. Their supporters justified them only under the plea of absolute necessity. It was natural, therefore, that they should be subjected to a fire of hostile criticism. In the first place, moderate Republicans were much embarrassed by these policies. In the United States senate they did not hesitate to express their disappointment at their adoption. Governor Curtin, the great war governor of Pennsylvania, in a special message protested against them and questioned their necessity. Here, moreover, was clearly ground for wholesome and legitimate opposition on the part of the opponents of the administration. The Democrats sought on this ground to rally round their standards the defenders of personal liberty.

The Democratic organs in Illinois made aggressive political capital out of these conditions. The *Chicago Times,* October 1, 1863, assailed the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* as "an act so bold, so flagrant, so unprecedented, and involving to so great an extent the rights, the liberties, and even the lives of the people, that its legality and propriety cannot be too thoroughly discussed." The *Belleville Democrat,* September 26, 1863, called it "the death of liberty;" it "makes the will of Abraham Lincoln the supreme law of the land, and the people, who have made him what he is, the mere slaves of his caprice." To the emancipation proclamation Democrats replied in warn-

[1] Senator Trumbull of Illinois openly condemned the imprisonment of citizens upon *lettres-de-cachet* and General John M. Palmer declared that the power would convert "this Constitutional Republic into despotism." Palmer to Trumbull, ————, January —, 1862. See also Illinois State Register, June 6, 1863.

[2] History of the United States, IV, 235.

ing that it meant the diversion of the war from its original and patriotic purposes, to a mere anti-slavery crusade; they declared that it gave the South a principal in place of an abstraction for which to fight and that it would therefore prolong the war.

In the name of constitutional liberty Democratic leaders appealed to the people to rally to rebuke the administration for these policies. The congressional and state elections of 1862 had witnessed a reaction against the administration, which, it was believed would sweep the country in 1864. The slogan taken up in preparation for the campaign was announced (by the *Chicago Times;*) "There is hardly a provision of the constitution which the President has not violated or treated with contempt."[3]

Democrats complained that Lincoln took these steps because ambitious of re-election, he had allowed himself to be coerced and had surrendered to the guidance of the radicals. But this was mild criticism compared to the fire of partisan invective and abuse that the less thoughtful Democrats levelled against the president. It was even suggested that Lincoln ought to be impeached.[4]

Democratic opposition at its worst was no more embarrassing than that which came from within the ranks of the administration party itself. While there were many Republicans on this side more conservative than himself, his greatest problem was to restrain those who without the responsibilities of his office, sought to hurry things more rapidly along anti-slavery lines.

While the Democrats complained that Lincoln's policies showed a surrender to the guidance of the radicals, the latter chafed at his slowness of action. The seriousness of this pressure cannot be denied. In Illinois it meant that leading Republicans, influential party organs, the State administration from Governor Yates down, and even Senator Trumbull were bitterly disappointed with the lack of real aggressiveness on the part of the president in his endeavor to conquer the South. Lincoln's friend Herndon charged him with trying to put down the rebellion by squirting rose water at it; Jonathan B. Turner, the Jacksonville educator, condemned Lincoln for too much reading of the new testament instead of using the sword after the fashion of the old testament saint, as had Andrew Jackson; the editors of the *Chicago Tribune* were ready for a break with the president if developments should require it.

There were other evidences of the Republican party's lack of homogeneity besides this clash between the anti-slavery element and the

[3] By this time the Springfield *State Register* felt that it had demonstrated "that he [Lincoln] possesses neither consistency, ability, statesmanship or resolution; that even the claim set up for his honesty was absolutely unfounded and that the country has never before been afflicted with a ruler so absolutely destitute of integrity and good principles." February 28, 1864.

[4] "..... No man with an ounce of brains will deny that the President has been guilty of crimes in his official capacity that would behead the ruler of a monarchy, and his total inability to conduct the affairs of the nation, even in time of peace, is a matter of universal admission. It would be a matter of rejoicing to every patriot if the President could be brought to the punishment that he deserves for his many and flagrant violations of law....." Jonesboro Gazette, April 4, 1865.

"When a President will thus put aside the will of Congress, what are the people to expect from him? The Freedom of the press and the *habeas corpus*, the two great bulwarks of our liberty, have been ruthlessly invaded. And last of all the voice of the ballot box has been crushed, and 'military necessity,' that bloody and envenomed queen, has seized upon its holy precincts. Great Heavens! How much more iniquity will the freemen of America stand from the ursurper and tyrant who is only fit to split rails ....." Cairo Democrat, July 14, 1864.

conservatives. Survivals of the old alignment between Whig and Democrat revealed themselves in mutual mistrust and jealousy. Lincoln was charged with being too generous toward his former Whig associates; disappointed ex-Democrats questioned the honesty and sincerity of their old-time Whig colleagues, traditional opponents. There was the problem of the foreign vote; could concessions be made to it without stirring up opposition from persons of nativist prejudices? What made matters even worse, Lincoln's cabinet was a hot-bed of bickering, suspicion, jealousy, and rivalry; he could not secure the hearty support of a majority of it on any fundamental proposition or policy.[5]

Early in 1864, therefore, evidence appeared of considerable speculation on the subject of the next candidate for president. A shrewd interpreter of public opinion in Illinois announced the result of the general belief in Lincoln's lack of positiveness and self assertion: "The fact is the people are not satisfied with the loose way in which the war is carried on. Yet they dare not say much and they hardly dare change, yet it would take but little to throw them into confusion and lose us the election. If the Democrats nominate McClellan and we nominate Mr. Lincoln and some of the dissatisfied should start out on Butler or Fremont we should be whipped."[6] General John M. Palmer reported that Lincoln was practically without friends and adherents in the western army, where it took the courage of a martyr to profess to be a Republican.[7]

Party leaders came to make no secret in their own circles of their opinion that some other man than Lincoln ought to be nominated. General Fremont had a considerable following of ultra radicals; Chase was eagerly seeking supporters to back his claims;[8] other persons like Senator Trumbull were frequently mentioned as available. A rather formidable Fremont faction took part in the Illinois Republican state convention in May, 1864, where it vigorously opposed the endorsement of Lincoln.[9] There was little enthusiasm for Lincoln;[10] one question, however, greatly strengthened his hands: Would the Republicans dare to refuse to nominate him in the face of the clamor of their party opponents? Was he not the logical person to lead the nation through the great national crisis? The radicals sought to answer these questions in an independent convention at Cleveland which nominated General Fremont early in the canvass, on the assumption that the Republicans would not dare to refuse to follow their lead; this, however, helped Lincoln by relieving him of a formidable opposition in the regular Republican convention. Chase canvassed his chances but found it impossible to organize the remaining opposition to Lincoln. These developments contributed to the certainty of Lincoln's nomination. This, however, was accomplished at Baltimore without any display of enthusiasm.

[5] Secretary of the Treasury Chase became more and more independent and having presidential aspirations of his own, finally left the cabinet. See Diary of Gideon Welles, Vols. I and II, passim.
[6] W. A. Baldwin to Trumbull, April 4, 1864, Trumbull Papers.
[7] J. M. Palmer to Trumbull, December, 1863. Ibid.
[8] Senator Pomeroy issued a circular in behalf of Chase. Springfield State Register, February 28, 1864.
[9] Carthage Republican. June 2, 1864.
[10] See Trumbull to H. McPike, February, 6, 1864. Trumbull Papers.

The Republicans thus entered the campaign of 1864 with the gloomy outlook upon a coming battle under a divided leadership. The whole summer brought no hope. With blunders on the sea, with failures in the land operations which exposed Washington, the capital, to capture by a small hostile force in spite of a ruthless sacrifice of blood and treasure in Grant's attempted offensive, more and more was said of the incompetency of the Republican administration. Gold rose to 285, making a paper dollar worth only thirty-five cents, and it held around 250 all summer. Greeley and others now pleaded for peace, for an understanding with the South. Congress even went so far as to ask the president to set apart a day for fasting, humiliation, and prayer; when the appointed day arrived, August 4, Secretary of the Navy Welles soberly commented: "There is much wretchedness and great humiliation in the land, and need of earnest prayer.[11]

The Fremont-Lincoln embroglio rent the membership of the party. Lincoln's renomination was explained as the work of the spoilsmen: office-holders and contractors. In vain did the moderates praise the president and plead for union and harmony. The local and state campaigns brought out anti-Lincoln sentiment. Then came a new development in the quarrel of Lincoln and the radical Republicans over reconstruction. Lincoln had made a start with a policy of his own, which was criticized as too mild and as part of his intrigue to secure his re-election. The radicals led by Senator Wade and Henry Winter Davis brought forward a measure of their own which Lincoln considered too drastic and defeated with a pocket veto. The radicals replied with a manifesto, crying out their defiance.

Enthusiasm within the party being all too lacking, the National Executive Committee, of which Henry J. Raymond was chairman, sought to substitute pressure and compulsion. Raymond, a man whose honesty and principle in party matters was challenged by Gideon S. Welles,[12] directed the collection of a party campaign assessment from government officers and employers in all departments. When in some cases office-holders refused to pay or obstructed the collection, Raymond requested and even insisted upon their removal.[13] Pressure was brought upon President Lincoln who seems to have had full knowledge of this expedient and at least did nothing that served to discourage it.

Fate seemed to be playing into the hands of the Democrats. Posing as "a watchful guardian of the constitution," the Democratic party quietly enjoyed its steady gains and waited to organize its campaign, the national convention having been summoned to meet in the closing days of August. Earlier in the year the party had been discredited by the antics of some of the extreme "copperheads;" the Coles County riots constituted one of the more serious outbreaks in Illinois. The party had seemed also to lack a great issue squarely placed before the people. The emancipation proclamation, to be sure, presented possibilities but now the country was pretty well reconciled to it. The summer of 1864,

[11] Diary of Gideon Welles, II, 93.
[12] *Ibid.*, II, 142.
[13] *Ibid.*, II, 97, 108, 113, 122–123, 136–137, 142–144. Captain Melanthon Smith, of Rockford, provost marshall of the second Illinois congressional district, protested against the payment of the $67.40 assessment levied upon him. Springfield *State Register*, September 25, 1864.

however, gave Democrats all sorts of encouragement; it provided them with an issue, the failure of the war. So they began to consider the questions of platform and candidate. There was some early talk of Grant but more and more the choice began to concentrate on General George B. McClellan, a favorite with the army of the Potomac, personally liked and admired by the soldiers.[14]

The failure of the war was in August the most likely Democratic rallying point, especially inasmuch as General McClellan could not be charged with responsibility for any recent losses. Accordingly, when the convention met at Chicago, August 29, it nominated McClellan on a platform drafted by Vallandigham declaring the failure of the war and the need of peace. The immediate reaction was an outburst of enthusiasm throughout the country that boded ill for Lincoln's hopes of re-election.[15] Disgruntled Republican leaders had been suggesting the withdrawal of both Lincoln and Fremont. Fremont's chances were known to be hopeless; Lincoln's apparent strength when nominated was declared fictitious. Lincoln had made a memorandum on August 23 practically conceding his defeat: "This morning, as for some days past, it seems exceedingly probable that this Administration will not be re-elected. Then it will be my duty to so cooperate with the President-elect as to save the Union between the election and the inauguration, as he will have secured his election on such grounds that he cannot possibly save it afterwards."[16]

At this crisis news arrived of Farragut's success at Mobile and of the capture of Atlanta by General Sherman after a hard long struggle continued through weary months.[17] The Republicans became wild with sheer joy and spread the good tidings with enthusiasm. Then followed the report of a succession of victories by Sheridan in the valley of the Shenandoah. Republicans became still more jubilant; enthusiasts began to predict in the same breath the prompt supression of the rebellion and the election of Lincoln. President Lincoln capitalized these developments politically by proclaiming a special day of thanksgiving to be celebrated in the churches, navy-yards, and arsenals.

The Democrats had just declared the war a failure; here was proof that they were in the wrong. The platform became impracticable and untenable; Republicans called it "unpatriotic, almost treasonable to the Union."[18] So McClellan in his letter of acceptance repudiated the peace article in the platform. All Democratic planning for the campaign was upset. Gloom settled down upon the Democratic camp.

But even now it was evident that victory could come only to a united Republican party; and Fremont was still in the field. His withdrawal, however, was arranged as a result of a bargain, to which Lincoln was at least indirectly a party. Postmaster-General Blair, a moderate, was sacrificed by the administration and asked to resign. Fremont then

[14] J. M. Palmer to Trumbull, January 24, 1864, Trumbull Papers; see also Rhodes, History, IV, 507n.
[15] Gershom Martin to Trumbull, Naperville, September 3, 1864, Trumbull Papers.
[16] O. H. Browning, a prominent Republican, was said to have commended the nomination of McClellan and declared that he should not feel at all distressed if McClellan should be elected. State Register, September 3, 1864.
Works of Lincoln, Federal edition, VII, 196–197. Lincoln informed Gustave Koerner of his fears of defeat, Memoirs of Koerner, II, 432.
[17] Diary of Gideon Welles, II, 135–140.
[18] *Ibid.*, II, 135.

withdrew; he did so, however, only after this explanation: "In respect to Mr. Lincoln, I continue to hold exactly the sentiments contained in my letter of acceptance. I consider that his administration has been politically, militarily, and financially a failure, and that its necessary continuance is a cause of regret for the country."[19] Republican workers chose to forget the sting of this declaration and concentrated attention on the canvass.

It is hard to find a single constructive forward-looking issue in this campaign. The question of reconstruction, including the possibility of a thirteenth amendment abolishing slavery, might have been such an issue. Work on reconstruction was already under way and, because of the troubles it had already caused the administration, some Democrats urged that it be made the momentous issue.[20] Another possible issue, though not essentially constructive, was the question of the approval or disapproval of the Lincoln administration. For this the Democrats were more ready than the Republicans.[20a] The latter did not dare to endorse everything Lincoln had done—they could select only certain features and for the rest rely on his generally good intentions.[21] The importance of the labor vote suggested another available issue. Modern labor problems had their beginning in the Civil War period. Many Republicans, therefore, wanted the president "to make the issue before the country distinctly perceptible to all as democratic and aristocratic."[22] The whole purpose of the rebels, said these, was the establishment of an aristocracy of blood and of wealth. The administration, however, was in no position to press this point after its delay in assuming the same ground in dealing with the property of rebel leaders. In truth, the Republican party of 1864 was not that democratic force it had been in 1856. The fiscal needs and financial transactions of the government had drawn to its support and into a prominent place in the party the representatives of another aristocracy of wealth—bankers, manufacturers, and government contractors. The Democrats, moreover, as an opposition party, were able to make considerable progress with the argument that the industrial and laboring classes had been compelled to pay the greater portion of the war taxes.[23] Legislation, they said, had been enacted on the old aristocratic policy that makes the rich richer and the poor poorer. But the Republicans in reply charged the Democratic party with being an aristocracy which had no place for "tailors, rail-splitters, mechanics and laborers."[24]

Campaign talk on the Republican side was largely vituperative denunciation of Democrats as Copperheads if not traitors.[25] The Chicago platform is unpatriotic, almost untreasonable to the Union. The issue is whether or not a war shall be made against Lincoln to get peace with Jeff Davis. A vote for McClellan will be a vote for slavery at a time when this crime has plunged this country into the sorrows and waste of

[19] J. C. Fremont to Messrs. George L. Stearns and others, a committee, September 21, 1864. McPherson, Political History of the United States of America during the great rebellion, (3d ed., 1876) pp. 426-427.
[20] Jonesboro Gazette, October 1, 1864, 20a., *Ibid.*, July 16, 1864.
[21] Champaign Union and Gazette, October 14, 1864.
[22] Diary of Gideon Welles, II, 141-142; see also 43.
[23] Joliet Signal, July 19, 1864.
[24] Aurora Beacon, September 29, 1864.
[25] Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, II, 434-435. Koerner enlisted as a campaign speaker but found his audiences entirely unwilling to listen to sober political analysis.

war. It will be a vote for the rebellion at a moment when the rebellion is about to fail. It will be a vote for disunion at a moment when the Union is about to be restored. The South is hoping and praying for the success of the peace candidate. The Democrats say the war is a failure; Farragut, Sherman, Sheridan, and Grant have disproved it. To all this the Democrats could make no effective reply after the military successes that turned the political tide against them.

Some of the Democrats met slander with slander. There was, perhaps, some ground for charging the administration and its associates with ignorance, incompetency, and corruption; but partisans went farther and slyly asked: "Has not Lincoln an interest in the profits of public contracts? Is Mr. Lincoln honest? His claims to honesty will not bear investigation." Others charged that the Republicans were preparing to secure their way by the use of the military, that "Abraham Lincoln would hesitate at no step, even the general massacre of his political opponents, if he can thereby insure his re-election."[26] The more level-headed Democrats, however, made use of the argument that "*our liberties are in danger* through the action of the government in its efforts to put down the rebellion." They talked of martial law, of arbitrary arrests, of suppression of the press. They held that they, more truly than the Republicans, were the real champions of "the Constitution as it is, the Union as it was." But all this fell on deaf ears; the army news was more potent.

The Democrats were demoralized by the defection of prominent members of their party who as War Democrats had supported the Lincoln administration and who now supported his re-election.[27] Republican divisions, on the other hand, were overlooked in the wild enthusiasm of the hour. Radicals who had sworn never to repeat their 1860 votes for Lincoln found themselves among the loudest Lincoln shouters. The German-American voters marched to the polls an almost solid Lincoln phalanx. It was no wonder then that Lincoln swept all before him and that McClellan was buried in this famous landslide of November, 1864.

What, then, was the meaning of Lincoln's re-election? "Lincoln elected himself in spite of the people," declared the democratic Joliet Signal.[28] That this was not without some truth is evident from the situation that prevailed during the summer of 1864. The Springfield State Register, November 10, 1864 called the result "the heaviest calamity that ever befell this nation;" it regarded Lincoln's election "as the farewell to civil liberty, to a republican form of government, and to the unity of these states." The Republicans considered it a splendid triumph, for the party if not for the administration. Ex-President Buchanan was calm and philosophical in defeat; "The Republicans," he explained, "have won the elephant; and they will find difficulty in deciding what to do with him."[29] This was only too true. It was not a personal victory for Lincoln; the radicals, who had set down certain considerations as the

[26] Springfield State Register, September 8, 1864; see also issue of October 15.

[27] General John A. Logan returned to Illinois from the front to participate in the canvass on the Republican side. Dawson, Life of John A. Logan, p. 87; see also Springfield State Register, October 5, 1864; Springfield State Journal, October 29, 1864; Belleville Democrat, August 13, 1864.

[28] Joliet Signal, December 6, 1864. It continued; "Thousands voted for Lincoln under over powering influences—under the pressure of money, business or party influences while their honest convictions of right and duty led them to desire the election of McClellan."

[29] Works of James Buchanan, XI, 377.

condition of their support, were soon ready to demand a full accounting. Differences as to reconstruction policy grew increasingly serious. It soon became a question whether Lincoln would be able to stand up against the radical opposition that assailed him. On April 11, 1865, he announced himself ready to make some change in policy, it may be to fortify his position and defy the radicals, it may be to yield to the pressure of their criticism,[30] but within a week he was borne off to a martyr's grave and this gigantic problem was turned over to his successor, Andrew Johnson. It seems that Andrew Johnson inherited "the elephant."

[30] Works of Lincoln, Federal edition, VII, 362-368.

PART III

Contributions to State History

THE AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES OF SOUTHERN ILLINOIS.

(By John Reynolds.)

(Reprinted from Transactions of the Illinois State Agricultural Society, Vol. II. 1856-57. Pages 346-371.)

THE SOIL, SURFACE AND AGRICULTURAL CAPACITIES OF SOUTHERN ILLINOIS.

The southern section of the State of Illinois is bounded on the east by the Wabash and Ohio Rivers, and on the west by the Mississippi. The southern extremity, the mouth of the Ohio, is considerably south of latitude 37 degrees north, and Southern Illinois extends north about two degrees, according to recent public opinion. This tract of country will embrace thirty counties or more, and its northern limits may extend across the State from about Alton, east, to the Wabash River.

The climate of this section of Illinois is most delightful and salubrious, and the air, for the most part of the year, breathes a balmy sweetness and fragrance that is not enjoyed in any other section of the State. South Illinois is blessed with a happy location, almost in the center of the United States, and also in the center of the Mississippi Valley, which secures to this section great advantages of commerce. Most of the large rivers of the West concentrate at and near this peninsula, which will add greatly to its commercial wealth.

This tract of country enjoys much of the climate of "the sunny South," where the winters are mild and short and the summers are not scorched with a tropical sun; but an agreeable and pleasant temperature prevails the whole year round.

The soil of South Illinois is exceedingly strong and fertile, and produces in great abundance all the crops which are congenial to the climate.

Geologists contend that the extraordinary quantity of fertile soil of the west was drifted here by great floods of water rushing from the northeast to the southwest, and that we enjoy the soil that once covered the surface of the country now composing the states of New England. Be this hypothesis true or not, it does not appear that all the Mississippi valley was at some remote period covered with water. The great depth and strength of the alluvial soil, and many other indications, make it almost manifest to my mind that all the vast valley between the great mountains, to the east and west, was once a sea of water, which gradually subsided, leaving the valley a great flat of alluvium. The streams

found the valley a vast plane, and occupied it to drain their waters to the ocean, as it suited their convenience.

Not only is it strange how so much soil accumulated in the West, but another phenomenon is presented by discovering wood, brushwood and the bark of trees many feet—sometimes one hundred or more below the surface. In some sections of the State, in digging wells, a "second soil," so-called, is found about eighteen or twenty feet below the surface, wherein wood, tree tops and bark of trees are imbedded in a black soil similar to the upper.

Another curiosity is the boulders, or "lost rocks," as they are frequently called, which are found on the surface of the earth in the middle and northern sections of Illinois. These are granite rocks, and all agree that they had not their origin in Illinois, but were conveyed here by some agent of nature.

It is also stated, that potters' ware vessels, made of clay, have been discovered and brought up from many feet below the surface, in various places of the West.

These facts must bewilder geology, and leave the human mind in darkness on the subject of the formation of the crust of the earth. Is it possible to fathom the operation of nature, to ascertain the manner of producing these wonderful phenomena on the surface of the earth?

Large trees are frequently found in the Mississippi bottom covered with earth many feet below the surface; but they are deposited there by the inundations of the river, and, in the course of time, the water abandons them. The earth is washed over them, and they remain there for ages. But the wood and bark of wood above mentioned are found on the high lands, clear of any influence of the rivers; and it seems to me that the operations of nature that placed them there must forever remain a mystery.

The surface of South Illinois presents a gentle slope from north to south, abundantly sufficient to drain the water from the earth, but not so steep as to wash the surface into deep gullies. There are no lakes or pools of water in South Illinois, except in the low lands of the rivers, and they may be all drained at a small expense. There is scarcely an acre of land in all South Illinois but may be cultivated in some manner and by some profitable crop, except the stagnant pools that stand some part of the year in the bottom lands of the rivers. In some few sections of South Illinois there are elevations that might be entitled to the name of hills, but not so high or so barren but that they would answer some valuable purpose to the agriculturist. I have traversed this section of the State often, ever since the year 1800, and know it well. Almost the entire country may be cultivated in grain fields or profitably employed in pastures, meadows or orchards. Most of the bottom lands of the Mississippi are situated within South Illinois, and will, when properly drained, be the most productive lands in the State. The "American bottom," so called from a settlement of Americans locating there in the year 1781, extends about one hundred miles, from Alton, in Madison County, to Chester, in Randolph County, and will average at least five miles in width. This tract of country is known all over the state for the fertility of its soil. Much of the Mississippi lowlands, below, are

equally fertile as the American bottom, and will, when improved, present to the agriculturist one of the most productive tracts in the Mississippi Valley.

At long intervals, the floods of the Mississippi inundate these bottoms. In 1725, a great inundation of the American bottom occurred. In the year 1770 another of less depth visited the bottom, and two years thereafter, in the year 1772, a great rise in the river overflowed the whole bottom. This flood tore away part of Fort Chartres, (situated on the Mississippi, twenty miles above Kaskaskia), and thereupon the English garrison moved to the last named village. The next extraordinary flood occurred in the year 1785, and was the next to the highest ever known in the Mississippi. I have often seen the marks of the high water of 1785, on the houses in the French villages, for many years after we settled in Illinois, in 1800. The next inundation was in the year 1844, and was some higher than that of 1785. The height of the flood in 1844, is marked on a stone monument, erected on Water Street, in the city of St. Louis, and exhibits a terrific flood, rushing over the whole bottom, from bluff to bluff. Since my observation, there have been many small rises in the river, that seemed to protend danger; but no great injury was produced by them. Those deep and sweeping inundations did more injury to the agricultural interest of the country.

Large bottoms also exist on the other rivers in Southern Illinois, which will be drained and improved in a few years, and will then add greatly to agriculture in this section of the State. The bottoms of the Cash River are extensive, and will be well adapted to the growth of hay. At some day South Illinois will be the most beautiful and most productive section of the State.

In many parts of South Illinois, fine springs of perpetually running water break out of the earth, and add much to the beauty and advantage of the country.

In this section of Illinois the surface is more undulating than in the north, and beautiful streams of water abound.

About eight counties only, in the extreme point, are destitute of prairie, and are covered with the finest timber of the same class in America. The timber that grows in South Illinois is not surpassed in the Union by the same species. There is no pine or hemlock in this section of country; but cypress grows in great quantities, and near Jonesboro red cedar is not uncommon. The most common growth are the oaks of all species, walnut, poplar, beech, cypress, cottonwood, hickory, pecan, sassafras, and others of less note.

It is the thick, dense forests that have heretofore to some extent prevented the more rapid growth of this beautiful section of country. In former days, when the timber was not needed, it was exceedingly costly to clear away the dense forests and prepare it for cultivation. But at this day the timber is in good demand, which will lessen the expense of preparing the land for cultivation. Since the Central railroad is constructed, and the country north is improved, so that lumber is in demand, great quantities of this valuable timber is sawed into lumber, and sold at high prices. These movements will advance the South, and a few years will present this tract of country in its true light.

I am of opinion that the prairies have advanced Illinois forty or fifty years over a timbered country. It requires time and great expense to clear away a heavy forest and prepare it for cultivation, while the prairies are always ready for the plow.

In South Illinois there are many mounds of earth, which trouble the masses as well as the literati, to know whether nature or art erected them. They exist all over the west, but the largest mound, known as the Big Mound, or the Monk Mound, is situated in the American bottom, five or six miles northeast of St. Louis, Missouri, and is the largest tumulus in the west, as I am informed. This mound is two hundred feet high, and eight hundred yards in circumference. It is flat on the top, and a dwelling of the late Mr. Hill, the owner, is erected on it. On the northeast corner is a graveyard, but not of the ancient date of the mound. On the south side is a bench, or a level, of some hundred feet, and extending east and west the whole length of the tumulus. This bench reminds us of the second story of a building.

On one side is a well, dug by Mr. Hill, where it is said the layers of the earth, in making the mound, could be discovered. It is rather my conclusion, that these earthern pyramids are the work of man.

In the vicinity of this large mound there are many others in the American bottom, numbering fifty or sixty in all, perhaps, and of all shapes and sizes, down to small tumuli of earth. It is stated that more mounds exist in this region, near the mouth of the Missouri River, than in any other section of the west.

Three earthern pyramids still exist in this neighboorhood, that lay much claim to man for their erection. They occupy a kind of triangle, one in Missouri and two in Illinois. They are all erected on the bluffs of the Mississippi, and appear to be intended to sustain beacon lights, to give alarm in case of danger.

The lowest, down the river, is in St. Clair County, about six miles from Cahokia. The French gave it the name of Prairie du Sucie, or sugar loaf, which in olden time was a celebrated place. Another mound is also erected on the high point of the bluff in Madison County, and was also called by the French, La Mammalle, a teat. The third is raised on the high bluff in St. Charles County, and was also called by the French, La Mammalle. It is supposed that these mounds were intended to sustain beacon lights, to give the alarm if the country was in peril. I have been on two of them, and it appears to me they are the work of man.

A singular mound is situated a few miles north of Lebanon, in St. Clair County, and is of considerable elevation, and I am informed, constructed on the cardinal points. It is an oblong square.

I saw an ancient fortification, as it is presumed to be, in the county of Pulaski, near the Ohio River. Some acres were embraced in the walls of earth yet visible, and large trees growing in it. It had gateways to the river, and one back to the north. I am almost certain that this mound was made by hand, and for a fortification.

If these mounds were made by man, the query will force itself on the mind, by what people were they made, and at what time? These reflections will draw the mind to the conclusion, that the earth is ancient

beyond all human computation, and is the same, as to human intelligence, as if it was eternal—without beginning or end.

CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST FRENCH SETTLEMENTS AND THE FIRST FRENCH AGRICULTURE IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS.

Religious altars, Kaskaskia and agriculture commenced together in the American bottom, in the same year, 1682, that Philadelphia was laid out, one hundred years before any permanent settlements were made in either Kentucky or Tennessee, and twenty-eight years before New Orleans existed.

The villages of Cahokia and Peoria commenced their existence about the same time and manner with Kaskaskia, and those then French villages formed the nucleus of the first colonies established west of the Allegheny Mountains. Fort Crevecoeur was erected, by LaSalle, on the northern bank of Peoria Lake, one mile and a half above the present city of Peoria, some few years before the colonies were established, and the Rock Fort, or Fort St. Louis, was established, soon thereafter, on the "Starved Rock," which is situated on the south side of the high rocky bluff of the Illinois River, about six miles southeast from the present city of La Salle. These forts were garrisoned, for some years, by French soldiers, to secure the Indian trade, and to keep possession of the country.

A missionary, the Rev. Allowes (Allouez), a Jesuit priest, located in the Indian village on the exact site where old Kaskaskia now stands, and commenced to Christianize the natives. The Rev. Mr. Pinet, another Jesuit priest, commenced in the Cahokia village of Indians, which occupied the same place that the present town of Cahokia does, and commenced his Christian labors. The traders also assembled in these Indian towns, and thus Indian villages, by Christianity and benevolence, were changed into civilized and happy colonies of whites.

Agriculture made its first entrance into Illinois around these villages in the year 1682, and the American bottom has the proud honor to bear on her bosom the first fruits of agriculture which was produced west of the Allegheny Mountains. The French pilgrims from Canada immigrated to the country with the pure and holy principles of Christianity "to love thy God with all thy soul, and thy neighbor as thyself," impressed strongly on their hearts, and they lived in peace and friendship with the numerous herds of savages that were legion, at that time, in the west. They had scarcely any wars with the natives, but resided with their neighbors, white and red, for a hundred and fifty years, in perfect peace and harmony. These French colonists never disturbed any one on account of their religion, or executed Quakers or any other sect for difference of opinion in religious matters. No one was ever exiled from Illinois on account of his religion, or were the natives ever sold into slavery. These French colonies exercised no malignant spirit of vengeance and extermination against any one for the worship of God at a different altar from their own. They were a peaceable and Christian

people, and, as such, they enjoyed that prosperity and happiness that can alone be experienced by the truly pious.

But it is true the early French immigrants were not good farmers. About one-half of the population depended on the Indian trade and voyaging for a living; and the other half were husbandmen, and cultivated the common fields. These colonies, as above stated, were established in the American bottom, where the soil was exceedingly fertile and easily cultivated. A very small amount of labor raised much produce. Large common fields were established, inclosing much territory, with few rails in a fence. The rivers, bluffs or lakes, generally answered for some part of the inclosure.

In these fields, wheat, mostly spring wheat, and a hard flinty species of Indian corn, were cultivated and raised in sufficient quantities to support the inhabitants, and much for exportation south. The villages of Prairie du Rocher, Fort Chartres village, St. Philips and Prairie du Pont villages were added to the former colonies in the American bottom, and a great portion of the whole bottom was in cultivation at the highest points of French prosperity in Illinois. I have seen the marks of the plow for twenty or thirty continuous miles above Kaskaskia, in the bottom, where the land would permit, and in an extensive range of country around the villages of Cahokia and Prairie du Pont. It is stated by authors that great quantities of flour were shipped to New Orleans, in olden times, from the Illinois and Wabash colonies.

The agricultural implements of the French were defective, and were not of the character that would be tolerated at this day. The poverty of the country and the want of agricultural science, forced the people to use carts without an atom of iron about them. In alluvial soil, where rocks or gravel did not appear, these carts performed tolerably good service; much better than sleds. The plows were honored with only a small point of iron on the front in the ground, and that tied on to the wood with raw hide straps. The beams of the plows rested on axles, supported by small wheels, also without iron, and the whole concern hauled on by oxen—horses were not used in the plows by the French in pioneer times—and the oxen were yoked to the plows by the horns. Straps of untanned leather tied a straight yoke to the horns of the oxen, and a pole or tongue coupled the yoke to the wheel carriage, on which rested the beam of the plow. At this early day the French farmers used no small plows, and had none. In the War of 1812 the French obtained the knowledge from the Americans of the use of the small plows to plow amongst the green corn. Before the war the French and Americans were strangers, and not friendly to one another, and learned nothing from each other. I presume for more than one hundred years the French plowed in their corn about the 1st of June, and turned under the weeds and not many grew until the corn was up out of the reach of them. They planted the seed corn in the furrows as they broke the ground, and turned the furrow on the corn planted; plowed a few furrows more and planted another row of corn; and so on, until the field was all planted. The weeds were kept down with the hoe, or briar scythe. Sometimes strange looking Indian pumpkins were planted with the corn, and at times, though seldom, turnips were sown between the

corn rows. Potatoes were not raised to much advantage; not sufficient for the consumption of the people—I mean the French inhabitants of olden times. The Americans always raised abundance of Irish potatoes, since my recollection, in Illinois. For many years there were no sweet potatoes cultivated in the country. Not much corn was raised by the French in pioneer times, as they did not use it to any great extent for bread, and their stock wintered out, for the most, in the range. In the summer the range was excellent, and all kinds of stock were generally fat on it. Corn was sold to the Indian traders on which to support the voyageurs and couriers du bois, and some used to fatten their hogs.

The history of one year of French agriculture will serve for nearly one hundred and fifty years; as I believe, in that long period, not a new principle of agriculture was ingrafted into the system, or an old one abandoned. A mathematical similarity reigned in all the French colonies for these long series of years, until the Americans introduced new agricultural principles among their French neighbors.

The wheat crop was generally sown in the early spring, and tolerably well plowed in with the ox team. It was cut with the sickles, or reap hooks, as no cradles existed in those times. They bound the sheaves with grass cut for the purpose, hauled the crop home in their horse or ox carts, and stowed it away in barns. The ancient custom was, at "harvest home," to tie together some nice straws of the wheat in the shape of a cross, and place it over the gate of the husbandman. This exhibition was in praise to providence for the harvest, and also to show that the crop was housed in the barns.

In the winter the wheat was threshed out in the barns with flails, and ground, for the most part, in horse mills.

The spring wheat made good, dark colored bread, which many preferred to the bread made of fall wheat. Little or no oats, rye, barley or buckwheat was raised in Illinois for one hundred and fifty years from its first settlement. The French never cultivated, to any great amount, either flax, cotton or hemp, nor did they manufacture into clothing what little, if any, they did raise. They used a very few spinning wheels, and I do not recollect ever seeing a loom among them. All their clothing, except the deer skin moccasins they wore, they purchased of the stores.

They raised considerable stock—horses and cattle, some hogs, but no sheep or goats. Their horses, known as "French ponies," were numerous, and of excellent pedigree. They were generally small, but of the pure Arabian stock, from Spain. No care was taken of them for more than one hundred and fifty years, and the breed scarcely ever crossed. Many generations of them never ate an ear of corn or other grain, but lived on the range, winter and summer. The French, in olden time, kept no stable horses; but let all the males run out in their natural state. These French ponies endured much hardship, and would do more service, living on the range, without grain, than the American horses.

French cattle were emigrants from Canada, and were a small, hardy breed, with generally black horns. They stood the winter better, without grain, than the American cattle, gave less milk in the summer, and kicked more all the time. The rudeness and barbarity the French ob-

served in changing the male cattle, prevents me from recording the operation.

The French never raised hogs in proportion to their other stock. They lived on vegetable diet more than the Americans, and used less pork. Bacon was uncommon among them. They rendered a fat hog into lard for a family, and the pancakes then were triumphant.

The common fowls were abundantly raised amongst the early French, and the poultry and eggs gave the people much healthy and agreeable support. They excelled the American masses in raising fowls in the gardens and in the dance.

The French were attentive to the cultivation of their gardens, which gave them a good part of a healthy and cheap living.

The French, English and American governments awarded to the French colonies large commons, attached to the villages, to advance agriculture; but at this day these commons are appropriated to raise a fund to support common schools.

The French colonies in Illinois increased, slowly, from the first settlement, in the year 1682, until the year 1763, when the country was ceded to Great Britain. From that year, 1763, to the present, 1856, they have been on the decline. The highest point of French prosperity and population in Illinois was at the cession of the country to England, in 1763, when about half the population moved to the Spanish possessions, on the west bank of the Mississippi. Judging from the best information I can obtain, I conclude there were about eight thousand white inhabitants and one thousand blacks in Illinois at the cession to Great Britain, and at this day I believe there are not more than two thousand five hundred Creoles, the descendants of the ancient French, and about three hundred colored people, the offspring of the five hundred slaves Renault brought to the country in 1720, from San Domingo, to work in the mines in Illinois. It is a surprising fact, that the French population does not increase, although the government was so liberal in granting lands to them, and their lives being so moral and exemplary.

The Jesuits, in early times, had water and wind mills erected in various sections of the country, to accommodate the agricultural interest. I saw, in early times, the remains of wind and water mills, said to have been erected by the Jesuit societies.

As it is stated at the commencement of this chapter, religion and agriculture took their rise together in Illinois, and have continued, hand in hand, down to the present time. The French Creoles are universally Roman Catholics, and are a sincerely devout and religious people. On their hearts are impressed, strongly, the great principles of Christianity, by which "the carnal man"—the base, low and vulgar passions and instincts—are measurably subdued, and the higher, more enlarged and elevated principles of the soul are cultivated and improved, so that these people enjoy a serenity of mind and happiness that is the fruit of pure and holy religion. At the first settlement of the American colonies in Illinois, when the French Creoles had the ascendency, these principles of morality and religion exerted a powerful influence in the proper and correct organization of all the settlements.

This character of the early inhabitants gave tone and influence to all the subsequent settlements in Illinois.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST AMERICAN SETTLEMENTS AND THE FIRST AMERICAN AGRICULTURE IN SOUTH ILLINOIS.

Many of the soldiers of the revolution, who conquered Illinois from Great Britain, under the command of the celebrated General Clark, were the first settlers in the captured country. These brave defenders of the rights of man, with incredible hardships, toils and dangers, wrested the country from British tyranny, and in peace and quietness sat down, under their vine and fig tree, to enjoy the harvest of their labors. One of the greatest generals of the revolutionary age, General George Rogers Clark, led his brave men to glory and victory, and in the conquered country, Illinois, these same revolutionary heroes laid aside the arms of war and took up the implements of peace and agriculture.

No country can boast of a more glorious and honorable population than Illinois can, in her revolutionary soldiers, who conquered the country and then colonized it.

On the 4th of July, 1778, General Clark led his little army to Kaskaskia and captured that post. In a few days thereafter all Illinois submitted to his power, and was in his possession. The next year, 1779, he conquered Vincennes and Fort Sackville. Clark had not the means to pay or support his brave troops, but encouraged them to become agriculturists, and thereby sustain themselves. The inviting prospect of the country, and the condition of the army, induced many of them to settle in the country. Other revolutionary soldiers, whose services were not performed in the conquest of the West, also settled in Illinois, and became the founders of large families. Three-fourths of the American pioneers of Illinois, who located in the country before the war with Great Britain, in 1812, were soldiers of the revolution, or had been soldiers in the Indian wars of the West. Illinois may feel truly proud of her ancient population, as she does of her citizens of the present time. The heroes of the revolution, the companions in arms of Washington, Wayne, Clark, Shelby, Robison, Jackson, and a host of others, together with the brave defenders of the country from Indian depredations, first colonized Illinois, and made lasting impressions on the country of independence and patriotism—glorious impressions that will be transmitted down to the latest posterity.

In 1780 a settlement was made on the high land east of the Kaskaskia River and village. The same year, or soon thereafter, a colony of Americans was established in the American bottom, west of the present town of Waterloo, which gave the name to the alluvial tract of country extending between the bluff and river from Alton to Chester.

Another settlement was made in the year 1781, at the Bellefountaine, near the town of Waterloo. A few years thereafter, the New Design settlement was made, and in 1783 a fort and colony were established in the American bottom, nearly west of the Columbia, in Monroe

County. In 1791 Whiteside's Station was erected, and a settlement made around it, and in 1797 the Turkey Hill Colony commenced. A town was laid out in the year 1796 and called Washington; but afterwards it bore the name of Horse Prairie Town. It was located on the Kaskaskia River, near the upper end of the Horse Prairie, where a town is now laid out and called Lafayette. About the year 1798 a mill was erected on Horse Creek, towards the mouth, and a settlement made about the same time in the upper end of the Horse Prairie, in Randolph County. In the year 1800 my father and several families settled in the colony east of Kaskaskia, and in 1802 the settlements around Belleville, and north, and in the present county of Madison, were commenced. In the years 1804, '5, '6, '7 and '8, colonies were commenced on the Ohio River, and extended from the mouth of the Wabash to the mouth of the Ohio, and up the Mississippi to Kaskaskia. These settlements were "few and far between," but were made mostly of pioneers, and composed the nucli of a densely populated country some years thereafter.

In the above years, before 1808, settlements were made on Silver Creek and the Kaskaskia River, in St. Clair County, and on Shoal Creek and Sugar Creek, in the present counties of Bond and Clinton. The settlements of Wood River and Silver Creek, in Madison County, were commenced and extended before the year 1808. A slow but gradual growth of the country continued in South Illinois from 1808 and onward. About this time, 1808, the United States salt works, near Shawneetown, attracted public attention, and added much to the growth of the country in that section.

The celebrated salt spring, situated a few miles south of Equality, in Gallatin County, had been known and worked by the Indians and French of Vincennes, since the first colony commenced at that village, about the year 1720, and still pours out volumes of salt water, but the wood being destroyed near the spring, and stronger salt water being discovered, it was abandoned.

These salt works were a great advance to the agricultural interest of the country. Produce was exchanged by farmers for salt, when money was scarce in circulation. The alum salt becoming so plenty and cheap, these salt works gradually declined, and are at this day doing a limited business.

Illinois was once under the government of the Northwestern Territory, which was organized in Illinois, by Governor St. Clair, in the year 1790. In 1802 Illinois became a part of the Territory of Indiana, and William H. Harrison the governor. In 1809 the Territory of Illinois was organized, and Ninian Edwards appointed Governor.

A change of government, and a newspaper established at Kaskaskia, the seat of government, increased the emigration to the country considerably.

The immigrants to Illinois were generally poor, and their agricultural exertions for some time did no more than support them. The revolutionary patriots and Indian fighters, generally left the service after a seven year's war, without a dollar in their pockets, and were many of them forced to commence farming for a living, without a horse,

cow, or pig, and that too on the public lands. But the same energy and enterprise that were their companions in the wars, still attended them, and they soon made a plentiful living.

In early times mills in the fall to grind the bread corn were almost out of the question. The pioneers were compelled to resort to hand mills, graters, mortars, etc., to beat the corn into meal.

The early settlers depended greatly on stock and the range to support the stock. The prairies also furnished both the French and Americans with the prairie grass in the greatest abundance for hay. It was the general practice in Illinois, for at least one hundred and fifty years, to mow the prairie grass and make hay of it. I have mowed many a day in the prairie grass for hay. But the settlers in and near the river bottom, wintered their stock in the range.

The cane, for range in the winter, extended north from the mouth of the Ohio about one hundred and twenty miles up the Mississippi, and there the rushes commenced, which was better than the cane for winter food.

Some produce was each season exported and sent from Illinois to market. Hogs and corn were shipped in flat boats to New Orleans, and, at times, good returns were made. The most difficulty was the dangerous navigation of the river. Many boats were lost in descending the river. Some hogs were sold to the miners working the Missouri lead mines.

The first material advance that agriculture experienced in Illinois was by the emigrants from Hardy County, Virginia. Upwards of one hundred and sixty souls emigrated to Illinois in June, 1797, and were a hardy, honest and industrious population. They first settled in and near the New Design, and were the first who improved agriculture in South Illinois. They cultivated fall wheat for market, and raised sheep and made linseys for clothing. They were not hunters by profession but husbandmen of excellent morals and character.

In the first year or two of the present century, several flat boats, laden with flour, sailed from Kaskaskia to New Orleans, while that city was in the hands of the Spanish government. The flour was made of Illinois wheat, mostly raised at the New Design, and manufactured in the mill of General Edgar, a few miles northeast of Kaskaskia.

The Americans cultivated both flax and cotton, but the latter the most, and spun and wove it into clothing. In olden times tolerably good crops of cotton were raised in South Illinois, and I well recollect the various modes of picking the seeds out. I have been often engaged in the primitive manner of picking the seeds from the cotton with the fingers. This operation is slow and expensive. The next was the gin, with rollers, and now the cotton is picked with machinery, without much cost or time. In those primitive days the Americans cultivated some tobacco, but not much for market. The French raised and manufactured more tobacco than the Americans. The Creoles manufactured the tobacco into carrots, as they were called. A carrot is a roll of tobacco twelve or fifteen inches long, and three or four inches in diameter at the middle of the roll, and tapered towards each end. The rolls were round, and would weigh four or five pounds, I presume. It is said this

was good smoking tobacco, and it made a considerable traffic with the Indians.

In considering the ancient agricultural capacities of South Illinois, it is proper to state there were in it six water mills, and one saw mill, about the commencement of the present century. Edgar's mill, above stated, was, for the time, a fine flouring mill, with French buhrs, and made excellent flour. About the same may be said of Tate & Singleton's mill, on the Bellefountaine Creek, not far northwest of Waterloo. John F. Perry owned a good flouring mill on Prairie du Pont Creek, not far south of Cahokia. Judy owned a water mill a few miles south of Columbia. Andrew Kinney erected a mill near the Mississippi bluff, six or eight miles southwest of Waterloo. Valentine owned a small water mill near the Mississippi bluff, west of Rock Creek, east of Waterloo. Henry Serles, as heretofore stated, erected a water saw mill on Horse Creek, near the mouth of the stream.

At this early day the teams and harness of the husbandman were defective, and scarcely sufficient to answer the purpose. The Indians, before Wayne's treaty of peace, in 1795, were hostile to the Americans, and stole many horses of the whites. The settlers were thereby compelled to use oxen on the farms and for many other domestic purposes. The cattle grew large, and the oxen mostly, were excellent. It was often difficult to procure the ring and staple for the yoke. The wood of the yoke was manufactured at home in abundance. The harness for the horses was more difficult to procure. As smithshops were almost unknown in the country, horses were seldom shod; and it appeared the animal, in those days, could do better without shoes than at this time. Frequently poor farmers were compelled to use rawhide straps for traces, and at rare times I have seen some make hickory poles and hickory withes served for traces in the plow. Truck wagons, the wheels being made of large sycamore logs, sawed off, were frequently used, and were about similar to, but not so sightly as the French carts, without iron. The truck wagons were made entirely without iron, and often, almost without tools. In these aboriginal times husk collars were mostly used. I have often seen farmers in the timber pack the rails on their backs from the trees where they were made to the fence, and put them up into the fence. Sleds were sometimes used, but they were a bad excuse. The hoe, at that day, in the timber, was much more used than at this time. Many farmers, after they gathered their corn in the fall, hunted considerably, and thereby made some additional support for themselves and families. Peltries and furs were always in demand, and at a good price. The flesh was mostly preserved and used in the family. Some farmers, where their plantations would permit, engaged to make voyages on boats. These voyages sometimes extended to New Orleans, Pittsburg and Mackinaw, or to Prairie du Chein.

The settlements increased to the War of 1812, when the borders of the colonies remained stationary, or, perhaps, receded in some instances; but the territory grew in population as fast in the war as it had done in peace.

The limits of the settlements during the war were as follows: Commencing at a fort or camp, on the Mississippi, opposite the mouth

of Missouri; thence to the forks of Wood River, in Madison County; thence to Camp Russell, a few miles north of Edwardsville; thence to the camp of Capt. Samuel Whiteside, on Silver Creek, above the settlements; thence to Hill's and Jones' forts, on Shoal Creek, and thence to a fort at the present town of Carlyle. Most of these outside forts moved in during the war. Many other small forts were kept up around the north frontiers, in a general line with the above stations. A fort at Chambers', a few miles southwest of Lebanon, St. Clair County, was maintained most of the war, and one on Doza Creek, towards its mouth. Captain Short made a large camp of his United States Rangers on Crooked Creek, at the place known then as "the Lively Cabins." Fort La Motte was sustained, near the Wabash River, during the war, twenty-five miles above Vincennes. Forts were erected on the frontiers of the settlements which existed a few miles out from the Wabash, Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, all the way around from the Wabash to the Kaskaskia. This was Illinois during the War of 1812.

I was a private united ranger during the year 1813, and part of the year stationed on the Mississippi. We ranged round the frontiers; therefore, I knew the condition of the country during the war. It seemed to me the same quantity of produce was raised during the war as was before, and the inhabitants fared equally as well, as to the common support, during the war, as at any other time.

It is my opinion more corn would grow on an acre of equally good land, fifty years ago, than at present. The earth has become much drier within fifty years, but I know not if that be the reason. No vegetation, grass or weeds grow as strong or as high as they did in 1800. In the old settlements, considerable quantities of wheat were raised, and much of the flour to supply the regular army at the outposts, during the war, was manufactured out of the wheat raised in the country. On the frontiers, not so much was raised.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SALINES AND MINERAL WEALTH OF SOUTHERN ILLINOIS.

Southern Illinois possess not only the greatest abundant capacity of direct agricultural wealth, but is also immensely rich in salines, and in many of the useful minerals. Salt is an indispensable article in human economy, and the southern section of Illinois is abundantly supplied with this necessary article. And although the salt works in Southern Illinois may not be worked at this day, yet they were once in operation, and supplied the country with salt. They stand by now, as a reserve, in an army, and may be again brought into successful action. They, at this day, have a tendency to regulate and keep down the price of salt that is imported into the country. The United States or the Ohio saline, at this day, stands aside, enjoying its dignity and well earned popularity, like a venerable and worthy President of the United States, after going through a prosperous and successful administration of the Government for eight years. The ex-President reclines with ease and honor on his well earned fame and character. So with the ex-saline; it slumbers in

peace, after being the most famous salt works west of the mountains. A history of the operations of these salt works would fill a volume. Col. Isaac White, an agent of the United States for this saline, in the year 1811, left his agency at the Ohio Salt Works, and entered the army, as a volunteer officer, under General Harrison, and at Tippecanoe, in that terrible night conflict, fell, charging the enemy. The honor of his actions is preserved in the name of a county, White, which is situated near his agency, the Ohio saline. Other salt works are situated on Big Muddy River, not far below Murphysboro, in Jackson County. A considerable amount of salt has been manufactured at these works, but nothing to compare with the Ohio saline. Other saline water was discovered in Bond County, near Shoal Creek, and works established at it. These works produced considerable salt, but, like the others, have fallen into disuse. Works were in operation, about thirty years since, in Madison County, on the east fork of Silver Creek. These works never did the owners or the public much service. Salt water was discovered on the upper branches of Little Muddy, and at various other places in Southern Illinois, but never worked to any great amount. It appears that salt water exists, in great abundance, in Southern Illinois, and circumstances may yet arise that will make it necessary for salt to be manufactured here to supply the inhabitants.

The mineral wealth of Southern Illinois in coal is abundant and inexhaustible. In most of the coal localities three different strata exist, one below the other, and the lowest is always the best coal. It is stated that Illinois contains the most acres of coal land on the continent, and 56,695 miles more than all Europe. In the year 1823, the first coal was hauled to the St. Louis market, from the bluffs, on the Illinois side of the Mississippi. But in the year 1809 William Boon shipped considerable coal from the Big Muddy mines to New Orleans, which was the first coal exported from Illinois. At this day coal forms an element in Illinois commerce that adds greatly to the wealth of the State. The railroads being constructed all over the State, and particularly the Central Railroad, have given to the coal interest, within a few years, great energy, and much is exported, as well as used in the State. The farmers throughout the country are commencing to use coal as the common fuel, in place of wood, and I have no doubt they will increase the use of coal until wood will be measurably laid aside.

Both iron and lead ore have been discovered, in considerable quantities, in Hardin County and the region roundabout. I have reason to believe great quantities of good iron ore exist in Southern Illinois, as it does in many other parts of the State. In fact, the whole western country seems to abound in iron ore.

As to the amount of lead ore in Southern Illinois, I have no means of knowing; but it is hoped the State Geologist, Mr. Norwood, will soon make a report on the subject of lead ore and other minerals in Southern Illinois that will shed light on this important interest.

In 1826 a great excitement was started in and around Monroe County, at the discovery of copper, and quantities of the public lands were entered to cover the supposed copper mines. It has all blown out. It is a blessing that silver and gold do not exist in Southern Illinois, as

I am satisfied these precious metals do the country no good. The gold of California has never paid all the expense, besides the loss of life, that it has cost to obtain it. The lead made in Illinois never paid for the labor and expenses incurred to procure it.

CHAPTER V.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF AGRICULTURE IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS SINCE THE WAR OF 1812.

The war with Great Britain, in 1812, produced, in the whole country, an excitement and agitation that advanced the growth and agricultural interests of the territory of Illinois. The extraordinary fertility of the soil, the beautiful, undulating surface of the country, and the mild and agreeable climate were seen and appreciated by thousands in the various military campaigns through the State; and these volunteer soldiers were generally citizens of sound judgments, that gave Illinois a character and standing abroad that induced greatly the immigration to the territory. Moreover, a great portion of the citizens had been engaged in the military service of the country, and their wages paid them for their services were expended in the country. This extra circulation of money gave the country an advance that it never experienced before. In addition to the above, an act of Congress was passed, in 1813, granting to the citizens of the territory a pre-emption right, by which the actual settlers secured their homes at the Congress price of the public lands. Before this act of Congress, the public lands were not brought into market, and the great masses of the farmers resided on the public domain as squatters. Under these circumstances no one would improve his farm to any great extent, fearing he would not be able to purchase it at the United States' land sales.

Wheat, after the war closed, in 1815, was more cultivated, and mills were in proportion erected. Fine mills, in early times, were built on the Little Wabash, in Gallatin County, and in various other settlements in Southern Illinois. In fact, at one time, not long after the war, a speculation of mill building, that was carried too far, injured the country. The shovel plow, that had been, in pioneer times, used considerably, was superceded by the barshear, and a better breed of stock was introduced. Castor beans and tobacco were cultivated before the State Government was organized, in 1818. Flour was then manufactured for exportation, and cattle and hogs were also raised for a foreign market.

The territory of Illinois, in population and in agricultural interest, improved and flourished greatly in territorial times, between the war and the formation of the State Government. In 1812 the population of the territory was only 12,000, and in 1818 it had increased to 40,000. The immigration was generally a moral, correct people, who came to the country, on mature reflection, to better their own condition, and to provide a good country for their children. They emigrated from the various old states, not in masses, but by families; and they assimilated themselves to the laws, habits and customs of the previous inhabitants of

the country. As it has been already remarked, the French and the original American settlers were a brave, independent and patriotic people; and the immigrants settling in the country amalgamated themselves with the previous inhabitants, and became the same people.

The laws of the territory were the foundation of the present State laws of Illinois, which, for their equity, justice and liberality, are not surpassed by any state in the Union, except, perhaps, by Louisiana, where more of the civil law prevails. The territorial laws of Illinois were the laws of the Northwestern Territory, which were adopted by the governor and judges of the territory from the laws of the various states, and were an excellent code of laws. It is to the laws, and the proper execution of them, that the State of Illinois owes so much of her prosperity and rapid growth to her ultimate destiny.

Directly, in the same proportion as the people of Illinois succeeded and prospered, the agricultural interest, and other great pursuits, advanced and prospered. It will be seen, by examining the history of the Territory of Illinois, that schools and churches were established in many sections of the country before the State Government was organized, and the people of the territory were as moral and correct, and perhaps more so, than they are at this day. Camp meetings were common, and churches established in every settlement in the territory. The counties that sent delegates to the convention, at Kaskaskia, that formed the State Constitution, in 1818, embraced not much more territory than is in the present supposed limits of Southern Illinois, and are the same people and their descendants, with the additional immigration. The original Constitution of the State of Illinois showed a wisdom and capacity of self-government in its various provisions that has not been surpassed in the State since that day, and it is this charter of free government, with its wise and salutary provisions, which, to a great extent, caused Illinois to prosper and flourish in such an unprecedented manner, that this State is called, at this day, the Empire State of the West.

The first colleges and conspicuous institutions of learning were established in Southern Illinois, and many of them remain, to this day, eminent seminaries of learning. The Rock Spring High School, the colleges at Lebanon and Hillsboro, opened into existence not long after the State Government was organized, and have performed signal service to the country. The Rock Spring establishment was removed to Alton, and is now in successful operation. This institution, (being enlarged, and assuming the name of the Shurtleff College), is one of the foremost seminaries of learning in this State, and bids fair to continue a blessing to the country. These institutions of learning bear witness to the prosperity and the enlightened progress of the people of Southern Illinois, and have had a powerful influence in establishing the high standing and character the whole State enjoys at this time. Not only is Southern Illinois conspicuous and eminent in colleges and common schools, but also a great number of the most eminent professional men in the State resided in and extended their influence in this section of country. The same may be said of the scientific and literary characters. Many scholars, profoundly versed in literature and science, have spent most

of their days in Southern Illinois, and have, with the professional gentlemen, given much fame and reputation to the country.

The south of Illinois has been called "Egypt," and we are delighted with the name, which is somewhat appropriate, inasmuch as our modern Egypt excels its ancient namesake in the abundant products of the earth; and the people are everywhere known for their ardent patriotism and devotion to the Union and its institutions.

The people of South Illinois are exerting their best energies in the agricultural interest. Flouring mills are being erected in every section of the country where they are needed. Seven fine steam mills are now in operation in St. Clair County, and two more, of great capacities, are being built within our limits. Other counties are also doing well in the manufacture of flour at this day. The railroads in the south, and particularly the central, are infusing life and energy into agriculture. Nothing has done the farmer so much service, since nature gave them this most beautiful country, as the railroads.

At this day agricultural implements are manufactured in abundance in almost every town, so that the people are not compelled to resort to the old and obsolete modes of preparing their crops for market. Horse and steam power is almost entirely used to cut and thresh the wheat, and manufacture it into flour, in Southern Illinois.

A great many of the counties in the south have established agricultural societies and fairs, and frequently exhibit articles that would take the premiums at the State fairs. The best breed of stock, and the most choice selections of seed grain, are sought for and being introduced into the country south.

One other cause for this unexampled prosperity, at this time, in South Illinois, is the exceedingly high prices for all agricultural products. The currency being abundant and sound, adds another element to the great advance of the wealth and population of Southern Illinois. The health, likewise, of the last year, was most excellent, which advanced greatly, the interest of agriculture, and I believe I may say, in truth, that the people of Southern Illinois are prosperous and happy.

CHAPTER VI.

THE AGRICULTURAL PROSPECTS AND DESTINY OF SOUTHERN ILLINOIS.

It is stated by an eminent man of Missouri, Mr. Bates, "that agriculture depends, for its very existence and success, on land, labor and learning." This is self-evident; and so it will appear to all intelligent agriculturists. The land in Southern Illinois is, without doubt, amongst the most beautiful and fertile tracts of the great West, and is also blessed with a climate that cannot be surpassed, in the valley, for its agreeable and pleasant atmosphere. This basis of the agricultural interest, in South Illinois, presents advantages that cannot be overrated, and that will make it the most beautiful section of the State by proper cultivation and improvement. But the labor and learning must evidently go together, as one cannot exist, to any advantage, without the other. Work without learning will not succeed; and learning without work is equally disadvantageous.

The people of Southern Illinois are the noble descendants of worthy sires. They are composed of the descendants of the heroes of the revolution and Indian fighters of the West, together with the choice spirits whose talents and energy enabled them to abandon the old worn-out states for a new and better country.

This is the population of Southern Illinois, and a more noble stock cannot be found on which to engraft all the branches of agriculture. But the people must become intelligent in the science and practice of agriculture, before they can succeed to any great extent. Nature has decreed, in her irrevocable laws, that man must labor for his support, and to labor with any hopes of success, he must be intelligent to a common degree at least. It is absurd to suppose that any one could become a successful agriculturist if he were void of intellect, and the more he improves his mind and labors in proportion, the better husbandman he will be. There is no excuse for any one in Illinois that he has no time or opportunity to improve his mind in his agricultural pursuits, as the earth produces in such abundance that any one, no matter how poor he may be, can find time sufficient to advance his agricultural "learning." And books and newspapers on the subject abound in every section of the State, and can be purchased at low prices. Moreover, a volume which does the State and its authors great honor, known as "The Transactions of the State Agricultural Society," has been published at the cost of the State, and many copies circulated amongst the people, free of expense; and I am happy to be able to recommend it to the agricultural public as a book that every farmer should read and study. He will find in it more practical and useful information to suit the farmers of Illinois than in any other work of the same extent. I have no hesitation in saying that, if the farmers of the State were to understand well the contents of this volume, and pursue the precepts and directions therein laid down, that Illinois would be made one million of dollars wealthier each year for many years to come. The officers of the State society, who conducted the State agricultural fairs with such sound judgment and discretion, and recorded in this work, to advance the best interest of the country, deserve the highest commendation of the public.

Then there are the annual reports of the patent office, sent free; besides many cheap agricultural books, and two excellent periodicals published in the State. The Illinois Farmer—a first rate monthly journal—at Springfield, is sent to subscribers at the low price of $1 per year; and the old Prairie Farmer, Chicago—now published weekly—costs only $2 per year.

We often hear complaints made that farmers are not selected for public offices and confidential trusts. The reason is, they do not generally qualify themselves to perform the duties of these situations as others do. The agricultural interest would prefer one of their own number, if they were as competent as those of other professions to officiate in these responsible stations. Farmers of Illinois: how long will you neglect your own interest by overlooking the improvement of your minds? You are obliged to take a back seat in both public and private business, if you neglect education.

Fellow citizens of Southern Illinois: You possess the power and capacity to make your section of the State prosper and "blossom as the rose." Nature has been most bountiful to you in presenting to you the best and most choice favors. You are blessed with a central location in the largest and most fertile valley on the globe, and in the centre of commerce of thousands and thousands of miles of river navigation. Almost all the large navigable streams of the west concentrate their mighty waters around your borders, and by their junction, at the city of Cairo, the inland ocean is formed, which extends to the Gulf of Mexico. No point on the continent of North America has more natural advantages for a great inland city than Cairo, which is now fast rising to the great and grand destiny that awaits her. The Central Railroad extending north from the mouth of the Ohio, through the heart of the great empire State of the west, and connecting with the lakes at Chicago and with the Mississippi near Galena, has already given Cairo and Southern Illinois an onward impulse that they never before experienced. Cairo is commencing to exert the powers that nature has so bountifully bestowed on her, and is extending her ample folds of commerce to all parts of the continent. Public and private edifices are being erected, of great and grand dimensions and of exquisite and elegant taste and workmanship. Fleets of steamboats from all parts of the west meet at this point, interchange their freights, and then the floating palaces descend the Father of Waters with the northern products to the tropics, while the small steamers ascend again the smaller streams, with the rich freight of "the sunny south." No ice or other obstructions in the Mississippi, will ever, from Cairo to the ocean, interrupt the navigation of that noble stream; so that Cairo and all the markets of the earth will be in direct water communication with each other.

Water conveyance is the first mode of trade and travel known on earth, and will remain forever, the victory of God over man. The railroads are the auxiliaries to the navigable streams, and have within a few years performed wonders for the United States, and particularly for the State of Illinois; but it is at last the water conveyance that will be resorted to for the great and heavy commerce of the world.

The whole length of the Ohio River will be improved in a few years by slackwater navigation, or by canals. So will the other streams, the Wabash, Cumberland, Tennessee Rivers and others, so that Cairo will be the centre of a commerce that man, in no age or country, has ever witnessed. Cairo, before the close of the present century, will contain two hundred thousand souls, and Southern Illinois at least a million and a half of people.

The great commerce of the valley of the Mississippi is founded on the agriculture of the same region, and they are allied together by indissoluble bonds. The commerce of Cairo and Southern Illinois will force into existence a new impetus to the agriculture of the South of Illinois. The two thousand four hundred miles of railroads, now existing in the State, will soon be increased to accommodate the wants of one and a half millions of people in Illinois. The late election returns show Illinois to be the fourth State in the Union in population—only three states in the Union that takes precedence of the Prairie State! This commerce,

and facilities of river and railroad conveyance, will force all parts of the State into healthy and energetic action. Southern Illinois will marshal into efficient energy all her agricultural resources, and discover probably other sources of agricultural wealth. The various agricultural crops will be more diversified and multiplied; so the seasons, dry or wet, will not so much affect the farmer. No country on the continent is better adapted to the growth of fruit than South Illinois. The French, down from their first occupation of the country, in the year 1682, cultivated to advantage both pears and apples. The Americans raise with success all species of fruit in Southern Illinois, that the climate will permit. Hemp and tobacco find this section of the State their particular friend. Flax also grows well here; and cotton may be cultivated to advantage in Southern Illinois. All species of grass will find a congenial soil in the Cash River bottoms and other large alluvial tracts in this region of country.

I have for the last thirty years pressed on the consideration of the farmers the raising of mules and hay for exportation, and I still recommend them as two of the best articles that can be raised in Southern Illinois. Mules are also the best animals for drudgery and draft on the farms, and are always a more ready sale than horses. And at all times hay will command a fair price in the southern markets.

With all these fortunate circumstances urging Illinois to action and energy, the whole State has within a few years increased the substantial wealth of the country with great rapidity. The wars in Europe and other causes created a good market for most of the agricultural products of Illinois, and the people embraced the occasion with great avidity and advantage. Illinois is wending her way with certainty and with much speed to her great and glorious destiny. In a few years the Prairie State will be the great Empire State in population and agricultural wealth in the Union, and will exert a great influence in giving tone and character to public opinion throughout the Nation. The known intelligence and patriotism of the people will be exerted for the general welfare of the whole Union, north and south, and east and west. The Union and Constitution of the United States will be secure in the hands of Illinois, so far as this young State has the power to preserve them. And, also, the people will be secure in all their rights and privileges, under the wise and judicious administration of the laws of the State. The people residing in this great and prosperous State, and enjoying so many advantages and blessings, will experience as much happiness as is allotted to man on earth.

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